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FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CHANGES IN CEMA GOALS, STRUCTURE FORESEEN

LD181443 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0213 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TANJUG) -- As claimed by well-informed sources here, the stands on most questions of CEMA's new "historic phase" have been coordinated. It has been left to Moscow to suggest a date for the long-awaited political summit of the member-countries of this group. If Soviet party and state leader Yuriy Andropov recovers from his illness soon it is most likely that the summit can be held at the end of next month. This has been learned here from Moscow economic circles close to the CEMA secretariat.

Judging by what has "leaked through," the member-countries of this economic group have opted for the idea that in the new CEMA phase the degree of cohesion and economic integration should be determined mainly by the economic interests of national economies, which must come to an agreement on the new technology of the work of the apparatus of their economic community more efficiently and rapidly. It will undergo important changes because committees which will integrate the work of the numerous existing commissions will be formed. Their members will become department ministers of the member-countries responsible for individual branches of the economy.

This is one of the technical changes of the organization of work, with which an attempt will be made to concentrate in one place decisionmaking and coordination of stands. The wish behind it is to shorten the marathon struggle between national and joint interests and the time it takes to adopt decisions. Of course, this would be an idle gesture unless a mechanism is devised which will bring closer together the existing systems of running the CEMA economy, on the principle of each member-country adapting itself to the agreed technology of decisionmaking in the new committees. This direction does not contain the danger of the need to give up their own national "features" and "specific characteristics" inherent in their economic systems.

Another change is aimed at reducing the mediating role of the state in the relations between national economies by nurturing direct contacts between their enterprises. Of course, it is unrealistic to expect that this can be achieved overnight in conditions of the existence of all-powerful state regulatory powers and at a time when first steps are being made in the direction of making work collectives independent in relation to the plans, which are sometimes very rigid, and in relation to the state apparatus, which is even more rigid. Although this is a long-term process it is a qualitative move in terms of strategy, which will be accelerated by economic relations and by the mounting production forces within this market. Therefore this orientation does not rule out a countereffect on internal national mechanisms because the enterprises, as protagonists of economic cooperation within CEMA, will find themselves in a situation where they will demand greater scope for the influence on the formulation of the economic plans of their respective countries. This could amount to a surgical operation to change the present production relations within most economies of the member-countries of this community.

In addition to these changes a great deal is being said also about two "radical changes" in present CEMA practice. This refers mainly to the commitment to "more firmly coordinate the plans" at the level of this economic group and the introduction of economic calculations in the production of energy and other raw materials.

Instead of the present, often futile, attempts to make national economic policies "equal," which could cause political consequences and weaken the unity of economic action, this has now been reduced to coordinating the plans, which should lead to firmer commitments for every member-country and at the same time guarantee the implementation of those plan forecasts which cannot be implemented without cooperation among the CEMA partners.

Some Soviet economists have called this, somewhat jestingly, "an introduction of order, business sense, and discipline" and also an orientation in the direction of realistic national planning. Each economy itself will devise ways and means for its optimum development, but the time of building so-called political factories or entire industries on the basis of expecting raw materials to become available from other countries has gone. Together with another adopted measure about setting up big joint funds to resolve the deficit of energy and other raw materials this means that CEMA has decided that there should be more economic calculations and less economic solidarity in its internal functioning. Although no one is saying so out loud, it would seem that the time of the distribution of raw materials has been sentenced to an early exit. Instead a sort of concern is being created in which the rights of each country to additional raw materials is determined in accordance with the money invested for their prospecting, production, and transportation.

For many countries this change in the method regarding raw material supplies is bound to be the most painful one, especially for those who on the basis of "international solidarity" have been building new over-expanded processing capacities for which they have no own raw materials.

REPORTAGE, COMMENTARIES ON STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

Bulgarian Minister's Speech

AU181858 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm, Jan 18 (BTA Special Corr) -- Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Petur Mladenov emphasized in speaking today at the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, that the international situation had become particularly aggravated recently. The ruling circles of the USA, Mr Petur Mladenov stressed, preferred to depart from the road of detente and take the one of confrontation. This was done with the consent and even backing of some of their NATO allies.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that the Western politicians are trying to conceal behind a smoke curtain of peaceful statements the main thing: the taking of specific actions to disrupt the military and strategic balance between the USSR and the USA, between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, in order to attain military superiroity, to pursue a position-of-strength policy.

He said that the statements by leading figures of some countries namely that they did not recognize the territorial and political realities established after the World War Two in Europe and the measures launched to upset the economic and techno-scientific relations with the socialist countries, are contrary to the spirit of Helsinki.

The culminating point of the acts of confrontation, he said, is the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. It disrupts the military parity and is creating a qualitatively new military-strategic and political situation which already has an extremely negative effect on the East-West relations. Added Mr Petur Mladenov: 'There is a danger, if the existing situation is not reversed, for this process to become deeper and acquire a durable nature'.

As a country which falls within the range of these missiles, he said, Bulgaria cannot remain an impartial observer. This is why we back up the launching of response measures the only aim of which is to ensure the security of the Warsaw Treaty states. With their curbing force they are also defending the security and life of all European peoples.

Touching on the Geneva talks, Mr Petur Mladenov noted that with the deployment of the missiles the American side made them void of meaning and predetermined their disrupting. Now, he went on, we are witnessing a paradox -- those through whose fault the negotiations were disrupted claim to be their most ardent proponents and appeal for their resuming. This can happen only if the situation existing before the deployment of the Pershing IIs and cruises is restored.

Bulgaria's foreign minister continued: 'No one should be left with any doubt that in the new situation, too, Bulgaria and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states will remain loyal to her principled course of consolidating the peace and security in Europe and the world, of developing peaceful relations'.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that the Stockholm conference is acquiring a special political importance. Now it is the only forum in the all-European process. He stressed that the urgent need to give an impetus to detente should result in a constructive political dialogue between the participant states, in order to create an atmosphere of confidence and to lessen the risk of a military confrontation in Europe.

Mr Petur Mladenov expressed conviction that irrespective of the difficulties progress could be attained and "a spirng wind could blow from Stockholm". But negotiations should be businesslike, constructive, and sticking to the principles of equality and equal security, without attempting any break in the strategic parity and pursuing unilateral advantages.

Mr Petur Mladenov said: "We would like to believe that through joined efforts any possible attempts at gaining time to fulfill perilous war plans under the cover of the Stockholm conference will be beaten".

He underlined the need for the conference to review the problem of concluding a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and maintaining peaceful relations between the states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, because such a treaty can turn out an important element in the sphere of confidence and security.

The conference can and must make its contribution also in the limitation and elimination of the nuclear threat over Europe. Referring to the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty in the nuclear disarmament sphere, Minister Mladenov said: "We are prepared to sit at the negotiations table right now and discuss these proposals in the minutest detail".

By recalling Mr Todor Zhivkov's idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, Mr Petur Mladenov said: "We have good reason to consider that there are chances to realize this extremely important initiative". He expressed hope that at the experts' meeting in Athens some specific questions on the materializztion of this idea will be clarified.

Bulgaria's foreign minister also dwelt on the need for negotiations on freeing Europe from chemical weaponry and reducing the conventional weapons.

Mr Petur Mladenov stated: "It is not possible to build a reliable mechanism of confidence and security measures in the military sphere alone. This is the reason why we approach the Stockholm conference first of all from a political and not only a military-technical aspect".

SFRY Foreign Minister's Speech

LD181521 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Stockholm, 18 Jan (TANJUG) -- Having thanked the government and the people of Sweden for their hospitality and for the efforts they have made for the successful and efficient work of the conference, Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, addressing the meeting of the representatives of 35 countries, said:

"We have gathered here, in keeping with the agreement reached in Madrid, in order to invest fresh joint efforts, as the final document of the Madrid meeting says, "to strengthen confidence and security and bring about disarmament so that in this way the duty of the states to refrain from threatening force and using force in their reciprocal relations can be carried out and expressed."

The Madrid CSCE meeting was of exceptional importance. It represented a successful effort to arrest a negative development in the world and to make the necessary change. Its final document in essence represents an agreement to renew detente, which reflects the knowledge that there is no alternative to the policy of agreement-seeking and negotiations. In its essence this is an agreement about returning to the road mapped out in Helsinki in 1975.

The course of events along the key lines of security and cooperation in Europe and further afield in the world, unfortunately moved in the opposite direction: International relations are even more tense; the arms race has been intensified; the negotiations pertaining to the field of disarmament in Europe have been interrupted or suspended; mistrust and reciprocal accusations between the East and the West have been intensified; the unstable situation in the Mediterranean, whose future is inseparable from that in Europe and vice versa, has become even worse. The fact that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, one of the countries participating in the CSCE and in this conference, are under a threat, sounds as a warning.

The latest unfavorable course of international relations once again confirms the fact that in conditions of the policy of relying on force, detente cannot be developed nor can an optimum level of international security be attained. Instead of representing additional security, the effect of a general growth of armament is that the potential of overall self-destruction is greater, the degree of reciprocal trust is smaller, instability is greater, equality between big and small countries is smaller, and that there has been an increase in the waste of human and material resources so much needed for development purposes.

In the shadow of the current military interbloc rivalry, accelerated because of the missile armament in Europe and of the propaganda war conducted in this connection, many other unresolved problems of vital importance, such as the use of force, military intervention, various types of pressure in order to destablize individual countries and unresolved economic problems, remain less noticeable. This is why this situation must be overcome as soon as possible.

The conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, bearing in mind the inseparable nature of military and political aspects of European security, offers us a new chance which in the interest of peace and cooperation we are duty-bound to take advantage of in full.

No doubt for this very reason the importance of this conference has increased, as has the weight and the complexity of the task facing us: The responsibility for its implementation has increased.

Europe is an area where some time ago the cold war broke out and where it reached its culmination. It is also an area where the process of detente started and attained its relatively highest point. It is also an area where the deeply-entrenched basic consequences of the cold war -- bloc divisions and enormous concentrations of military potential -- persist. It is within the circle of these countries, especially the most powerful and the most developed ones, that the epicenter of the arms race and tension in the world is to be found. At the same time, the solution to other acute world problems essentially depends on these same countries.

In these conditions the Stockholm conference goes far beyond its regional framework. Its results will have an impact on the general state of international relations. For this reason the world is focusing its attention on this conference, expecting it to fulfill its role in overcoming the current crisis of international relations, halting the negative trends in the world, curbing the arms race, and renewing detente on a broad plane, since detente can be neither lasting nor stable if it is confined to the European area alone. Each one of us, we all together, are de facto accountable not only to our own peoples but to the world public and mankind as a whole. No one can escape this responsibility, although peace and security do not depend on each of us to the same extent and in the same way. The great powers must in this respect effectively assume their responsibility. The arms race cannot be halted by the force of propaganda but by the force of example and initiative.

The objectives and tasks of this confidence have been defined in the mandate inherent in the final document of the Madrid meeting, and their interpretation must reflect faithfully the letter and the spirit of both the mandate itself and of this document as a whole.

The conference has been convened above all as "a substantial and integral part of the multilateral process initiated in Helsinki" and as an expression of the interest of all the participating countries reflected in the Final Act in "the efforts channelled into weakening military confrontation and promotion of disarmament." Conceived as a long-term process along the way of promoting security and implementation of disarmament it should in this initial phase adopt "a number of reciprocally complementary measures with a view to strengthening trust and security which will reduce the danger of military confrontation in Europe." These measures, which will be applied throughout Europe, including, to a certain extent, the coastal seabelt and airspace, must be militarily important, politically binding and subject to specific forms of verification, depending on their content.

The measures that will be adopted should confirm the principles of non-use of force and appropriate commitments to refrain from such conduct in reciprocal relations and in general.

These measures, by their definition and even more so by the role intended for them, should go a step further than the measures inherent in the Final Act and should at the same time represent a step nearer to disarmament in Europe.

The agreement should embrace the widest possible spectrum of measures but it should also bring about a certain equilibrium among the various categories of measures, especially between the measures concerning information and the measures restricting military activities.

In fact, the work facing us could be divided in three categories: Clearer outlining of the parameters of information measures adopted in the CSCE Final Act, such as prior notification of major military maneuvers; adoption of new and bolder measures, such as prior notification of all major military movements; and, finally, adoption of new category of measures limiting military activity, such as limitation on the size of military maneuvers. It is important to take advantage of all these possibilities and to achieve progress in all these areas. However, restriction measures deserve special attention, because they represent a qualitatively new level which, in itself, signifies further progress in the efforts initiated in Helsinki in the area of the military aspects of European security.

These measures, if applied consistently, will certainly have a positive impact on the stability of relations and security in Europe. The conference, however, should be able to offer other positive results as well.

On the whole, the conference will fulfill its proper role only if a successful outcome of this first phase were to lead to the opening of a process of all-European negotiations on disarmament. In substance, this represents an essential yardstick of its success.

With the establishment of a constructive dialogue and positive results, this meeting of negotiators should influence the establishment of a more favorable atmosphere and, in so doing, contribute to the revival of other negotiations in the area of disarmament in Europe. For this reason, we expect from all the participants, and especially from great powers, that, to confirm their declared objectives and desires, they should invest all the necessary efforts to renew these negotiations as soon as possible and continue them successfully.

The Stockholm conference represents an important contribution to the promotion of the CSCE process, its enrichment and consolidation, because by adding the disarmament component to the military dimension of European security the CSCE process has acquired its complete essence. At the same time we must avoid a recurrence of the Madrid CSCE meeting's shortcomings, such as the transformation of the meeting, to a large extent, into an instrument of bloc confrontation.

We would not fulfill our task if we did not constantly bear in mind the close interdependence between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean. History has clearly confirmed this, and this is incorporated also in the Final Act. The more fully we translate this fact into practice, the more successful our conference will be. The Mediterranean countries taking part in CSCE can substantially contribute to this by their appropriate participation.

With its constructive work and atmosphere, the conference on Security in Europe should operate as a factor of building confidence, and in so doing it should also help relaxation of tension in Europe and in the world, which would undoubtedly have a favorable effect on the conference itself. In so doing the conference will become an integral part of broader efforts in the direction of resolving global problems, upon which security in Europe depends as well.

During the past year several such efforts were made, both within and outside the U.N. One of the most important efforts in this direction was the seventh conference of nonaligned heads of state and government in New Delhi. This meeting stressed the need to abandon the policy from positions of force and offered a basis for a dialogue and cooperation to resolve key international problems, reflecting the readiness of the nonaligned countries to assume their responsibility in the implementation of this joint objective.

Three years is a sufficiently long period to overcome the obviously insignificant difficulties standing in the way of the desired results. It is too long a period, however, in relation to the worsening international situation, which requires urgent action and tangible results. It is, therefore, indispensable that effective negotiations start as soon as possible so that this process unfold continuously and in a balanced way, and concrete progress be achieved in the shortest time possible.

We do not ignore the difficulties this conference will confront, because differences are very big. I should like to recall that this meeting of negotiators encompasses both some of the biggest and some of the smallest states, and also states lacking military muscle; highly developed and less-developed countries; continental countries and landlocked countries, and even some island countries; European countries and non-European countries; bloc and non-bloc countries, etc. It is, therefore, all the more important that they should all be consistently guided by the principle of equal respect for the security interests of all the participating countries, proceeding from the fact that, despite all the differences, our interests share a common denominator -- peace, security, and free national and social development in keeping with the aspirations of each nation. We must invest genuine efforts to devise generally acceptable solutions and reach a final agreement. If there is political will, as shown by the work of the Madrid meeting, an agreement is objectively possible. The will of European nations is powerfully asserted through many manifestations by ordinary people in their demand to seek security through the alternative of disarmament. This new phenomenon represents in essence an unarmed opposition to war and a non-violent resistance to force. We would be making a great mistake if we were to ignore this strongly expressed will.

As a nonaligned European country, Yugoslavia is vitally interested in the success of the Stockholm conference.

This is the first time that the regulation of the military aspects of European security is being tackled on an all-European basis, with disarmament as its final objective. This allows the countries that are not aligned in blocs to take part in this effort and concern themselves directly with their security interests. For this reason the Yugoslav delegation will operate actively in the effort to make its full contribution to a positive outcome. In this respect it will strive to establish cooperation with all the delegations.

We attach special importance to coordinating the efforts of neutral and nonaligned countries. All European countries are facing the exceptionally important task through joint effort to contribute to the efficient working of the conference as a whole and to attaining the most general agreement possible -- an agreement that will also take into account, within proper limits, their specific national security interests. With this aim in view we are attaching importance to timely initiatives of this group of countries so that we can make our own contribution to bringing about a final agreement. We are convinced that on this occasion once again the neutral and the nonaligned countries will establish successful cooperation, by which Yugoslavia sets such store.

Sincere efforts by everyone is required for the implementation of the desired results. Good conditions for that do exist because we believe that the objectives of the conference are common to us all. Not only shall we strengthen confidence and cooperation among European countries, but we shall strengthen confidence and faith of all factors in the international community in the possibility of surmounting the present crisis of the entire system of international relations, which is riddled with contradictions, conflicts and intolerance. All the countries participating in CSCE will derive advantage from this new atmosphere, because this part of the world cannot be isolated from what is happening in other parts of the world where bloodshed, aggression, poverty and starvation constantly wreak havoc on the hopes of mankind for a bright future of human civilization. We can contribute to a revival of these hopes through a successful work of this conference in the months ahead of us."

Polish Foreign Minister's Speech

LD182145 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Speaking during the afternoon session at the Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski confirmed our country's will to observe the principles and decisions adopted at the CSCE. However, Minister Olszowski said, the conduct of certain Western states toward Poland continues to deviate from the principles adopted at that conference.

Expressing his appreciation for the states who took an understanding view of the internal difficulties experienced by our country, Minister Olszowski said, at the same time, that attempts to isolate our country have failed and that they will never succeed. Stefan Olszowski also emphasized that our country resolutely opposes the NATO states' strivings to achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty and also attempts at questioning the territorial and political order in Europe, using force in international relations, restricting cooperation and dialogue and failing to observe agreements and treaties.

NATO, Warsaw Pact Caucuses

LD171036 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Excerpts] The conference on European confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament opens today in the Swedish capital. Our special correspondent Istvan Kulcsar reports from Stockholm:

The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries taking part in the conference coordinated their stands, naturally at separate meetings. The general opinion is that the conference, which begins today, may go on for several years and will hardly achieve quick results. Perhaps all the participants of the consultations are agreed on this, while a common feature determining the tone of the various statements is a more or less cautious optimism. Perhaps the only thing that deviates from this somewhat is President Reagan's speech of yesterday, about which I heard it said, among other things, in the conference center last night, that it is unjustifiably optimistic and that the hopes contained in it are not backed up by the facts expressed in the policy of the United States. At the Stockholm conference this week the foreign ministers will be making speeches, and it is anticipated that beginning next week the consultations will continue behind closed doors.

18 Jan Proceedings Review

LD182029 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Special correspondent Viliam Roth report from Stockholm]

[Excerpt] This second day of the conference continued with speeches by 12 ministers of foreign affairs. The heads of the delegations of five NATO states, Belgium, Canada, Norway, Spain, and Italy, like their partners from United States, Denmark, and Portugal yesterday, made the same unilateral and simplified assessment of possibilities for strengthening mutual trust and security of states in Europe. They practically failed to admit the destabilizing influence of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe on the overall situation in the world. At the same time they kept making assurances of their interest in and will for the Stockholm conference's final success.

With regard to the necessity of making the exceptionally alarming situation in the world more healthy, two of the countries of the so-called group of neutrals and uninvolved -- Yugoslavia and Austria -- promised a constructive participation in the work of the conference. Their ministers' speeches criticized the current intensity of armament in the world, which takes away the means for dealing with many other problems in international relations.

Prague on Shultz Speech

LD182110 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Excerpts] On its opening day yesterday the Stockholm conference on confidence-building, security and disarmament in Europe heard the outline of the positions held on the appraoch to that meeting by the Warsaw Treaty Alliance and the North Atlantic Alliance. The differences in this approach are discussed in the following comment written by Radio Prague's news analyst (Marcela Dojckova).

The very first day of the Stockholm conference demonstrated that it is facing a difficult task in trying to create a more positive climate for the solution of the most vital problem of mankind, namely, peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Therefore it was a sad paradox when, at a conference which is to strengthen confidence among states, the Secretary of State George Shultz declared that the United States did not recognize the legitimacy of what he called an artificial division of Europe, meaning the existence on this continent of countries with different social systems. Otherwise, Mr Shultz's statement reflected the changed tactic of American diplomacy, which has come to realize, just as President Reagan, that Europe, as well as the rest of the world, had enough of sabre-rattling. That is why he called for arms reduction and improved relations with the Soviet Union, and he said that the United States was prepared to resume disarmament talks as soon as Moscow was ready to do so.

The fact is, of course, that the Soviet Union has shown more than enough readiness, but how can you negotiate on disarmament when the other side is engaged in an unprecedented arms build-up, as the United States Administration has?

It was none other but the veteran United States diplomat and former foreign policy adviser to five United States presidents Averell Harriman, who recently wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES that the Reagan administration viewed the Geneva talks with the Soviet Union as a propaganda forum, as an occasion for invectives, as a mask to cover the deployments and as an arena in which to gain advantage.

Secretary of State Shultz spoke yesterday of a number of measures which should strengthen confidence and reduce the danger of war. These include exchange of information on military activities, including maneuvers, and facilities for quick communications in cases of an East-West crisis. There is nothing objectionable in such measures in principle, but they represent a cure that could help ease the effects but not remove the causes of the disease afflicting the world today thanks to American policies. Such a cure can be provided only by elimination of the possibility of a war.

Secretary Shultz also proposed yesterday an improvement of the hot line between Washington and Moscow. But the new American Pershing II missiles deployed in West Germany can hit targets in the Soviet Union in a few minutes' time. And this is precisely why the Warsaw Treaty countries are proposing that all nuclear weapons should disappear from all of central Europe from the north to the south.

Sofia on Gromyko Speech

AU181927 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 18 Jan 84

["Staunch Course Towards Peace and Security" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Jan 13/BTA Commentator Khristo Radev/ -- The Soviet Union, one of the most active initiators of convening the Stockholm conference, is trying to make a real contribution in order to attain serious agreements in which the final document of Helsinki to be given a practical development [sentence as received]. This was repeated in Mr Andrey Gromyko's speech today. The Soviet country is convinced that with the joined efforts of all participants a solution can be found to some problems, useful for establishing a climate of confidence between the states represented at the forum. The Soviet Union will continue to be doing its best to ameliorate the international situation. Now it is urgently necessary to create conditions for returning to calm and correct relations between the countries, for restoration and development of detente.

The speech of the Soviet Minister points correctly and exactly to the originators of the extremely tense international situation. The aggressive foreign policy of the USA is really the main threat for peace in our days. The deployment of the new nuclear missiles in the FRG, Italy, and Britain pushed the arms race onto a qualitatively new level containing an enormous threat. This is actually how the idea of Washington of a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe is materialized.

Such a situation cannot leave the countries of the socialist community impartial, since it is a direct threat to them, it arouses serious alarm in the whole peace-loving mankind.

The USSR thinks that the danger can be eliminated. For this purpose -- as Mr Gromyko stressed -- the USA and the other NATO countries should show readiness to return to the situation existing before the deployment of the U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

Of particularly high value is the readiness expressed by the USSR for a political dialogue between the East and the West, if only it can actually lead to easing the tension, to curbing the arms race, and to disarmament, for doing away the danger of war. True, there is only one alternative left in interstate relations -- peaceful co-existence and cooperation in an atmosphere of confidence and security.

The Soviet stand on the vitally important issues of today's world -- peace or war -- has shown once again the right road to save mankind from a nuclear disaster. No doubt, it is in absolute harmony with the longings and interests of all peoples.

Budapest on Gromyko Speech

LD191211 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 19 Jan 84

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI) -- Commenting on Andrey Gromyko's speech at the Stockholm conference, Thursday's NEPSZAVA states:

"The entire speech of the Soviet foreign minister showed the consistent intention to call attention to the causes of the present tense international situation. It re-affirmed former Soviet statements that the deployment of American missiles can not be ignored. Neither is the Soviet Union at such a high-level forum willing to make no mention of the American export to Western Europe of military psychosis, their wilful deterioration of Soviet-American relations, their acceleration of arms race, and their aim to create imbalance. Gromyko declared that for the time being the aggressive foreign policy of Washington is the greatest danger".

In conclusion the Budapest paper states "the speech of Gromyko has not left any doubt as to the readiness of the Soviet Union to hold genuine and promising talks, if they serve universal interests instead of the camouflage of aggressive intention. Furthermore, it expects the other side to act instead of repeating propaganda slogans."

Polish INF Proposal Review

PM181543 Paris LE FIGARO in French 17 Jan 84 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Polish Proposal on the Euromissiles"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Weijacz stated at a press conference that the Polish delegation is going to Stockholm determined to show "goodwill and a constructive attitude." I have learned form a well informed source that this action will be aimed in two directions:

1 -- Proposals likely to break the present deadlock in East-West relations.

2 -- Support -- following up the recent meeting between General Jaruzelsi and Primate Glemp -- for the Vatican's efforts to promote a real resumption of dialogue between Washington and Moscow.

What are these new Polish proposals? The veil over this question was lifted by Professor Marian Dobrosielski, a well known political scientist and a deputy foreign minister, in an interview granted to ZYCIE WARSZAWY a few months ago. The professor suggested that "once the first phase of the deployment of the American missiles has been completed -- in other words, the 41 Pershing II and Tomahawk missiles -- to show political goodwill and create a positive climate for the conference opening in Stockholm, there should be a freeze on any continuation of the deployment of any nuclear weapons throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals."

To make his idea absolutely clear, Mr Dobrosielski added that the aim is to halt both the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe and "the Soviet Union's countermeasures in the western part of its territory." That could, he thinks, "lead to the resumption of the American-Soviet negotiations broken off following the deployment of the first missiles on the territory of NATO countries."

Professor Dobrosielski informed me that his proposal, recently put forward at the Pugwash committee's Geneva meeting, had received a favorable reception there, even from the Americans and Soviets present, which leads him to think that it "might be accepted by the two sides." In addition, the professor was anxious to make the following statement to me: "My suggestion is not the Polish Government's official position, the latter being, of course, in keeping with that of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular, which quite rightly make the withdrawal of the Pershing missiles a precondition for the resumption of the negotiations. But it is necessary to be realistic. If you are obstinate on this point, the dialogue will never be resumed. My proposal makes it possible to break the deadlock, but it is true that the ball is in the Americans' court and it is up to them to make some gesture -- for instance by declaring that they too will never be the first to use nuclear weapons -- to show the world and the Soviet Union that they want peace."

REPORTAGE ON ATHENS BALKANS CONFERENCE

Bulgaria's Nikolov Speech

AU172102 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] The Athens meeting of experts continues, with an exchange of opinions on practical issues. It is expected that the participants will begin discussion of the issues included on the agenda, the most important of which is the issue of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Rayko Nikolov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, chaired today's meeting. He stated that during the present international situation, which has become extremely exacerbated as a result of the deployment of U.S. missiles in some West European countries, the danger for peace in the Balkans has increased: Also contributing to this is the fact that U.S. nuclear weapons are deployed in some Balkan countries. Furthermore, the United States, unlike the USSR, has not undertaken the obligation to not be the first to use this means of mass destruction.

Recalling the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the fact that the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans will have exceptional importance not only for the peninsula, but for Europe and the world, the Bulgarian representative pointed out that the removal of nuclear weapons from the region must be an immediate task of the Balkan countries' political cooperation. He expressed his conviction that the meeting will contribute to developing friendship and cooperation in the Balkans, which are important factors for the region's political climate and stability, as well as his hope that the meeting will be a step toward reaching a general and principled agreement on creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, so that the peaceful future of the Balkan countries can be guaranteed.

Tomorrow the meeting continues.

Yugoslav Delegate's Address

LD180038 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Athens, January 17 (TANJUG) -- An atom-free zone in the Balkans can only become reality if it covers the entire peninsula and remains open for other, non-Balkan countries to join.

At the same time, it is essential that such a zone be recognized and accepted by the big powers.

Addressing a meeting of Balkan countries' experts in Athens today (Tuesday), Yugoslav delegate Svetozar Starcevic also stated that Yugoslavia considers the idea of establishing atom-free zones in the Balkans and in other world regions important.

Yugoslavia is deeply convinced that it is a vital interest of all Balkan peoples to base their relations on strict observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

Balkan countries must be interested to the greatest possible extent in non-interference and non-use of force, as well as in each country's right to its own identity and free internal social-economic development.

While supporting the idea of turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons, Yugoslavia also supports a ban on the use of any force in inter-Balkan relations, Starcevic added.

Yugoslavia also stands for a continuous confidence building in relations between Balkan countries and non-recognition of any territorial claims based on the so-called historical argumentation, i.e. "historical rights", which are a factor of instability in the region.

Respect for the rights of all peoples, nations and nationalities in the Balkans is of exceptional importance.

The Yugoslav Government considers that a ban on the movements and on large concentrations of armed forces along the borders, prevention of the further stockpiling of conventional and elimination of nuclear arms are integral parts of any genuine effort for peace in the Balkans and the world.

Yugoslavia does not possess any nuclear weapons and already constitutes an atom-free zone, Starcevic noted.

He recalled that the Yugoslav Government has already proposed that the Balkan countries adopt, among other things, a kind of a "small Helsinki charter" on the principles of inter-Balkan cooperation as well as other measures which would enable a free circulation of goods, people and ideas in the region.

The above fits into the confidence building measures discussed at the Stockholm conference, he said.

Tirana Reports Meeting

AU172032 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] A meeting of experts of some Balkan countries recently opened in Athens. The meeting had been proposed by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou to discuss the question of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Albania is not taking part in this meeting for reasons already known and explained in a letter from the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania addressed to the Greek prime minister on 9 June 1983. Turkey also did not participate because of disagreements over the agenda and the date of the meeting's opening.

Referring to Dhinitrois Maroudhas, Greek Government spokesman, various news agencies report that the participating experts from the first day suspended the meeting on the discussion of the major point of the agenda connected with the denuclearization of the Balkans, and postponed it until a later date.

First Stage Concluded

AU181704 BTA in English 1642 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Athens, Jan 18/BTA Corr/ -- The first stage of the meeting of experts of the Balkan countries ended in Athens. The second stage will open on February 13, this year, again in the Greek capital.

This was announced today at the final press conference by E. Spiridhak's -- head of the Greek delegation and chairman of the final session of the experts.

He said that at the first stage views were exchanged on the principled stands of the parties and on procedural matters of the meeting. Said E. Spiridhakis: "The talks were very constructive and proceeded in a friendly atmosphere of absolute understanding and cooperation."

An agreement was reached that the experts discuss in the Greek capital, February 13 through 18, the actual results and trends of cooperation among the Balkan countries for establishing a climate of confidence and security on the peninsula. He said: "We shall be discussing the problem of setting up a nuclear free zone in the Balkans, which is a key problem and all parties agree to discuss it."

E. Spiridhakis pointed out that the second phase of the meeting is provided to be attended by Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and Turkey, and expressed hope that Albania would join them as well.

First Stage Reviewed

LD182013 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Athens, Jan 18 (TANJUG) -- A meeting of experts from the Balkan countries which considered the possibilities of turning the Balkans into a denuclearized zone of peace and cooperation, ended today, Wednesday, in an agreement that the second stage of this conference should open on February 13, when Turkey, which attended this meeting as observer, will take part as a full-fledged participant.

Greece, the host of the meeting, assessed the conference as very significant for the continuity of inter-Balkan cooperation. The Athens meeting was held at a time of extremely worsened political and economic conditions in the world, and, for this reason, Greek government quarters expect that it might encourage significantly the renewal of detente.

Generally, the meeting participants believe that the Balkan countries have not yet utilized the wide opportunities for a more comprehensive cooperation in the economy, transport, agriculture tourist trade, and many other fields.

In the general debate the Yugoslav delegation suggested that a meeting of experts should be held also in Belgrade to consider the possibilities and modalities of promoting the long-term industrial coproduction and specialization, including Balkan countries' joint marketing in third countries.

Yugoslavia also suggested that at their forthcoming meeting the Balkan countries should adopt something like a small-scale Helsinki charter on the principles of cooperation in the Balkans, together with other measures to enable a free circulation of goods, people, and idea. This in the first place pertains to the liberalization of the systems of issuing visas and passports, the promotion of inter-Balkan cooperation in the field of the press, information and culture.

The Yugoslav delegation believes that this would result in a greater mutual understanding and in the promotion of good-neighbourly relations.

Meeting's Importance Stressed

AU171342 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Jan 84 p 5

[Report by Boyko Borislov, BTA Correspondent]

[Text] Athens, specially written for OTECHESTVEN FRONT -- Under the conditions of the aggravation of international tension on our continent, for which the United States and its NATO allies are responsible, a conference of experts from Balkan states is opening in Athens, at which a summit meeting will be prepared in connection with mapping out practical measures for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkan peninsula. If this idea should be implemented, it could drastically change things on our continent and contribute to the consolidation of detente.

The fact that the leader of the Greek Government will open the meeting personally speaks for the significance which is being attached to this meeting here, and this event, along with the discussion of the Cyprus problem and with the beginning Greek-U.S. negotiations, is at the center of attention of the political forces in Greece.

The idea of transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone is opposed to the Washington and NATO policy of "super-rearmament" and of the preparation for a "restricted" nuclear war in Europe. That is why these forces are trying to foil the implementation of this idea. In doing so they are not very choosy about their means, as the daily RIZOSPASTIS points out in a commentary. The newspaper notes that the meeting of Balkan countries' experts will undoubtedly be in conformity with the interests of the peoples in this area and will serve the cause of international peace and detente.

The policy of the PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] government, aimed against nuclear arms in favor of peace and detente, is irrevocable and is not influenced by any tactical considerations, was the answer that Dimitrios Maroudas, the government spokesman, gave to a journalist who asked him to comment on the forthcoming meeting. If this policy does not conform with the taste of certain "friendly forces," they must become aware of the fact that the foreign of the PASOK government is independent and aimed at protecting the Greek people's interests, he stressed.

The development of events definitely shows that the Greek Government's peaceful initiatives are strongly opposed by certain circles in Greece and outside the country. As a matter of fact, Andreas Papandreou, the Greek premier, declared at a meeting of the PASOK parliamentary group that the government is forced to act "under extremely difficult, objective conditions," because of the uprecedentedly strong pressure exerted by the right-wing forces.

SFRY Journalist's Commentary

AU181659 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] The first stage of the meeting of representatives of Balkan countries on possibilities for transforming this region into a zone of peace and cooperation and a zone without nuclear weapons has concluded in Athens. It was agreed at the meeting that Turkey, which attended the meeting in the capacity of observer, would participate as a full-fledged member in the continuation of the conference, which will again be held in Athens next month. Our special correspondent Dragan Petrovic reports from Athens:

It is a general view of the participants of the Athens meeting that the 3-day session held in a constructive, open, and friendly atmosphere is very important for the continuity of inter-Balkan cooperation and agreements. It is in this sense that Svetozar Starcevic, ambassador in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and head of our delegation, has also appraised this first stage of the Balkan conference:

[Begin Starcevic recording] The most important thing in this connection is the fact that we have agreed to open the second stage of this conference again in Athens on 13 February. We understand the concept of a Balkan nuclear-free zone as a broader concept that implies cooperation in many spheres and I think that, judging at least by the readiness demostrated at the beginning of our work in this first stage, we can expect this cooperation to gradually move into living currents. Naturally, this is a long process and this cannot be achieved by a single meeting in Athens. I personally believe that quite a few meetings will be held also in other Balkan cities, in other Balkan capitals. But what we have accomplished so far and what we plan to accomplish prompts us to conclude, at least as I see it, with an optimistic picture of our efforts and the belief that our efforts will produce results, and that none of the participant countries is exempted in this connection. [end recording]

Similar to the head of our delegation, all other participants of the Athens meeting also believe that the Balkan countries have not utilized by far all available possibilities for a substantive cooperation for which prospects exist in all spheres. The fact is especially emphasized here that the Balkan countries have met and held talks on peace, cooperation, and elimination of nuclear weapons, and the danger of nuclear weapons, and that they have done this at a time of extraordinarily deteriorated world economic and political conditions. Although it is clear to all that one meeting and one zone cannot solve all problems in this region and further afield, what has taken place in Athens during the past 3 days is encouraging not only for the Balkan region.

TU COUNCIL CHAIRMAN DELIVERS PRESIDIUM REPORT

AU181431 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jan 84 pp 1, 3

["From" the report of the Presidium of the General Council of the Albanian Trade Unions delivered by Chairman Sotir Kocollari to the plenum of the General Council held on 9 January in Tirana: "Let Us Increase Mobilization at Work and Raise the Spirit of Action to Fulfill the Tasks of the 1984 Plan and to Improve the Working and Living Conditions of the Workers"]

[Excerpts] The year that has just passed was characterized by the workers' general mobilization. As was emphasized at the blockade and the extraordinary difficulties created by the drought, new successes were achieved in the country's all-round development, completely relying on our own forces. The general balance of achievements is positive and encouraging. The general social product, national income, and the volume of industrial production increased by 3 percent compared to 1982. Agricultural production increased 9 percent. Construction investments were up 4 percent over the previous year. The standard of living also further increased. Tasks were realized or surpassed in many branches and sectors of the economy. Especially distinguished were the coal miners, the workers of the engineering, timber processing, and glass and ceramics industries, workers of some food enterprises, and others. Agricultural workers successfully fulfilled the production plans for wheat, sunflower, fruits, and olives. The construction workers completed 62 projects, 48 of which were in the productive sphere, 10,500 apartments, and other things. As always, the builders of the Enver Hoxha Hydropower Plant in Roman are in the vanguard. Good achievements were also made in transportation and other sectors.

The country's further progress, even under this year's difficult conditions, once again showed the correctness of the party's line and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on our socioeconomic development, and it showed the vitality of our socialist order in overcoming such situations under the party's leadership.

From this year's experience we can draw the conclusion that the working masses have great reserves in their midst. But they are not always placed in the service of the economy's progress. This can be very clearly seen in some economic branches and sectors where deficits have been created.

The party demands that we struggle with all our energy to frontally fulfill the plan's tasks. But in practice there is sometimes one-sideness because the plan is realized in some sectors but not in others. After pointing out the nonfulfillments of some oil enterprises, Comrade Sotir Rocollari emphasized that one of the major reasons for these weaknesses is the insufficient, broad, and superficial work with people. The work of the trade union organization in these enterprises has not been successful in making the workers concern themselves with the problems raised by the party about oil. The spirit of action has also been insubstantial and of minimal effect. Although some actions have been carried out concerning the collection of pipes, concerning working conditions, and in related sectors, action has been lacking in working toward the major objective, which is the fulfillment of the oil and gas extraction plan. This also reflects weaknesses in the work methods of the trade union organs and organizations. In many cases this has consisted of discharging tasks with general phraseology and slogans. "This should be done, that should be done" -- something that has numbed agile work with people.

The dissemination of advanced experience should be at the center of our attention, and we should do better work at the oil wells with those who are lagging in order to raise them to the standard of the advanced. The themes of emulation should not be stereotypical, but dynamic and current, and all workers should be included, from the wells to the institutes.

The trade union organs and organizations should pay more attention also to some other important economic sectors such as chemcial-metallurgy, chrome mining, and other sectors. The organization has in its own midst the forces and possibilities to put them at the forefront -- something that was very well confirmed by the December action in the metallurgical combine which produced many positive results. The change that began here was achieved because of the mobilization of the workers, specialists, and cadres, led by the party, the establishment of order and discipline, and the demanding of accounts. But this should continue and should be further deepened and the spirit of action should always be kept alive. This spirit cannot be seen in the Vlore PC Plant, where there has been a violation of discipline, low quality work in the maintenance of machinery and equipment, low qualification standards, and a lack of a sense of responsibility. This sets forth tasks to strengthen and revitalize the trade union organization, to perfect work for the workers' education, qualifications, and mobilization by using varied and more effective forms such as consultations, exchange of advanced experience, help by the more advanced to those who are backward, serious development of qualification courses, the extension of the system of supervisors, the struggle against alien manifestations, and a succession of actions to create a healthy optimistic situation and to frontally fulfill all the plan's tasks.

Last year the trade union organizations in the agricultural enterprises paid more attention to disseminating and generalizing advanced experience to raise productivity and increase production, to pull out of their backwardness workers who do not fulfill norms, to save fuel, and other things. Despite all the work that was done and the results achieved, the plan's tasks were not frontally realized due to one-sidedness.

There have also been nonfulfillments in some construction enterprises. These are mainly a result of subjective reasons which are also tied to the weaknesses in the work of the trade union organizations, which have not worked as necessary to strengthen discipline, perfect organization, fully utilize means and mechanization, and undertake concentrated actions, especially in the productive projects.

The work of the trade unions is above all work with people. Therefore it is our duty to make the problems of the 1984 plan an issue with which all workers are concerned, and we should create the conviction that we have the possibilities to fulfill and surpass the plan in quantity, quality, assortment, output, cost, and other things. A progressive working opinion should dominate in the organization. Defects, deficiencies, and weaknesses should not be covered up and hidden, but should be criticized right from the start and should be corrected in time. The trade union organs and organizations should not duplicate the work of the state and economic organs, nor should they turn into their appendages. It often happens that the trade union organizations concern themselves with figures, percentages, and problems of a purely technical nature, as if they were economic organs and not social organizations, whose center of attention should be the person, the care for his education, mobilization, and life.

The Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum forcefully set the task for achieving a turnover and carrying out a resolute struggle to raise the social productivity of labor. There are many factors that influence the raising of labor productivity, and work norms play an important role among them.

That is why the trade union organizations dealt with this problem and some results were achieved. Norms were revised in 57,000 work processes, saving 2,200 workers. The number of workers who did not fulfill their norms was lowered by 3 percent. But many organizations have dealt with this issue generally and not in an analytical way. They did not analyze why norms remained the same in many work processes, or who were the people not fulfilling norms, of what age group and qualifications, how long they had been on the job, and other things. Upon this basis they should have carried out differentiated work with people.

These analyses have been made by many trade union organizations, such as those in the Shkoder wire plant, the Tirana shoe factory, and others. Upon this basis they have carried out concrete work with those who did not realize their norms, and better organized assistance has been given to young workers to assimilate work skills and to qualify themselves. As a result, only 5-7 percent of them did not fulfill their norms. We have not been able to disseminate this good experience in some mines, agricultural enterprises, and other places, where the number of those who do not fulfill their norms is still high. Thus this remains one of our important tasks in the future.

It is clear that concrete work is not done everywhere to strengthen discipline. To overcome this situation it is necessary for the trade union organizations to inquire into why a worker works one day and the next day is absent. Where does he go, and what does he do? Why does he not remain in his work place but run around here and there? The organization should concretely deal with these people, call them to the committee, advise them, criticize them before the workers, and put them under the supervision of vanguard workers. The matter should be taken to the family and block when it is deemed necessary. It is our duty to ideologically educate workers with a steel-like proletarian discipline at work and at the same time teach them what this discipline means in practice and how it should be implemented. Comrade Enver teaches us that "proletarian discipline at work should be in the workers' blood, because we are still far from the situation in which having theoretically understood its importance they also practically implement it as they should."

Under the current conditions the problem of thrift assumes special importance. The Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum urged that thrift should become an issue concerning all workers and should become second nature to every person. We should not allow ourselves to deal with this problem only in campaigns. Our organization should look at the problem on a wide front, but at the same time it should concentrate its attention upon some crucial points in the economy, such as electrical energy, steel, imported raw materials, deficient materials that are produced domestically, and other things. The 1984 plan that was approved by the People's Assembly has foreseen that the norms of consumption for electrical energy, fuels, and raw materials should be lower than those of 1983. The party urges that these reductions should be considered as the necessary minimum limit and that the struggle and efforts for savings should be even greater.

Pointing out the struggle against alien manifestations, Comrade Sotir Kocollari emphasized that the trade unions have the task of stimulating vital initiatives which spark the revolutionary opinion of the working class, so that all people carry out class struggle in their organizations, raise their vigilance, and protect common property.

Comrade Sotir Kocollari emphasized further on that the party teaches us that in the struggle to frontally fulfill the plan's tasks we should continually raise our care for the person, for further improving workers' working and living conditions because doing so means health, production, and productivity. The party has no interests other than those of the workers. Our socialist state has never spared anything in this field.

The transformations made have been great and radical. Dozens of new cities and workers' centers have been built, equipped with dining halls, dormitories, kindergartens, nurseries, baths, laundries, trade and health services, and other things. An assortment of equipment for individual and collective protection at work has been imported as well as produced domestically. Under the party's care, we have put into effect the most advanced labor legislation in the world, which has at the center of its attention care for the working man.

Further on Kocollari pointed out the work that has been done to implement the tasks set by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's suggestions for further improving living and working conditions. The trade unions have better engaged themselves in this field, and in cooperation with the economic and state organs they have solved many of the problems which have concerned them in this field. Investments were realized better than ever before -- about 50 percent more than the previous year.

Despite all the improvements there is still much to be done. Investments for working conditions were not fulfilled everywhere.

The party has given the trade unions some authority in this field, but it is not always implemented as it should be. Some trade union organizations have changed joint agreements on working and living conditions into formal acts. It is evident that in these cases there still exists a form of partnership to which the party has drawn our attention. This weakens the controlling force of the trade union organization. Thus, it is our duty not to fall into liberal positions, but to carry out an uninterrupted struggle against bureaucracy and technocracy, which ignore the care of the person and which deny the role of the masses. The trade union organization should become even more of a center where the voice of the working class can be strongly heard and where accounts are demanded from people for the performance of their tasks. After pointing out some tasks for further strengthening technical security, Kocollari said:

The problem demands a wider conceptualization in compliance with the rapid development of our country. New branches which have not existed previously have now been created and are being expanded; for example, metallurgy, the chemical industry, and machinery construction. Agriculture is being chemicalized on a higher scale. New technology is being applied more widely. This technical progress has also created new problems, which are more complex, in connection with working conditions and technical security.

We have all the possibilities of achieving greater progress in improving working and living conditions. We do not lack anything; we must only work resolutely, with action, and a high sense of responsibility, and we must implement to the last point all the set tasks.

Comrades: The tasks before us are great. But we have all the possibilities for realizing them. We must work more toward making the workers aware of the need to fulfill the 1984 objectives under all conditions. This demands that we know and live with the situations and draw lessons and tasks from them to advance our work even further.

The aggressive activity of the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, as well as international reaction, have made the world situation more explosive. For the enemies, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a thorn in their sides, and they plan and hatch plots against it.

Under these conditions we should be strong and vigilant. And the party teaches us that we are strong when we have a steel-like unity of the people around the party, when we realize our plans, when the economy advances as it should, and when we increase the reserves of all kinds. Comrade Enver teaches us that a strong economy is the basis for a strong defense.

DOYNOV, DELEGATION CONCLUDE VISIT TO CUBA

Talks Stress Cooperation

AU171859 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] The visit of Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Dimitur Stanishev [name as heard] to Cuba has ended. They were received by Comrade Fidel Castro and had meetings with responsible party and economic leaders of the republic. In addition, they were acquainted with many industrial and construction sites.

At the concluding talks the common willingness to expand and strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation as well as the integrational processes in various areas of the two countries' economies was pointed out. A memorandum was signed.

Departure From Havana

AU172119 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] On 17 January Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Stanish Bonev left Havana after their visit of several days to Cuba. At the Jose Marti Airport they were seen off by Carlos Rodriguez, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party and deputy chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and by other official

PAPER REVIEWS ZHIVKOV LECTURES ON SOCIALISM

AU181205 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Dec 83 pp 1, 3

["Editorial from the periodical SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS to be published in issue No 1, 1984": "Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Lectures Represent a New Climax in the Development of Bulgarian Party Thought"]

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures devoted to key theoretical and key practical problems of the further construction of mature socialism in Bulgaria are being greeted as a great political, ideological, and scientific event. Nationwide interest in them shows that their contents provide an answer to questions of vital importance for our country as a whole and for each individual, socialist working man in particular. How t accomplish better work, how to live better, and how to achieve better self-realization, how to perfect our social life and how to fully utilize all the achievements we have attained so far, as well as the historical advantages of our system -- all these questions are concentrated in the concern about our people's fate, about the contemporary socialist individual, and in the striving for far-reaching, positive changes, for the unrelenting progress of our society. These are the questions pertaining to the goals and optimal methods in our further development as a country and as a people, up to the complete construction of our socialist society. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures determine and describe the tasks of programmatic significance. They look to the future while at the same time the elaborations contained in them represent a specific guidelin for action today.

As is known, following the adoption of the BCP program on the construction of a develop socialist society, our party, the Central Committee, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its secretary general, personally continued to pursue the creative theoretical and practica elaboration of the basic problems connected with programmatic goals and tasks. During this process the idea of a mature socialist society and of the social law-governed rules of its construction, as well as the most appropriate approaches and methods for our country in implementing this historical task were constantly developed, enriched, intensified, and specified.

The very experience of our own country in the process of building a developed society, as well as the experience of the other fraternal parties and countries, and of the CPSU and the USSR in particular, which have entered the stage of perfecting developed socialism, was systematically analyzed and summed up. Along with this it was possible to even more deeply penetrate the theoretical laws of socialist social life and development, and new methods and approaches were worked out for the practical implementation and application of these laws. A particularly strong impetus to new creative research was given by the necessity of resolving the particularly complicated and many-sided problems posed by the transition to a comprehensive economic intensification and to an intensification of our economy's entire social development. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report to the 12th BCP Congress and his speeches and statements that followed contained creative solutions for the basic problems with which our party has been dealing throughout the last 10 years and precise answers to the crucial questions of our comprehensive development on a longer-term basis, for the next 10-20 years. This is how a new stage was mapped out in the historical development of the party's general April plenum line for building a mature socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We are now dealing with the series of lectures given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the lecturers and students of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration at the BCP Central Committee in the summer and autumn of 1983. These lectures sum up and systematically analyze the main problems with which the BCP and our country are dealing following the 12th BCP Congress, problems that are of decisive importance for the implementation of the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

This synthesis and systematic analysis permit us to become clearly aware of and to discern the basic contours of the new historical climax in the development of the party's April plenum line, to understand the main theoretical discoveries and the fundamentally new practical approaches through which our first party and state leader is making a remarkable new contribution to the development of Bulgarian party thought, to Marxist-Leninist theory, and to the practical mastering of the laws of socialist development and their specific manifestation under the conditions existing in our country. It is even more gratifying to learn that the systematic analysis and synthesis of the basic tenets that Comrade Todor Zhivkov has explained in recent years has led to new steps forward, to an intensified scientific penetration of objective, social processes, and to an even greater expansion of creative thought, as well as to even bolder and more innovative solutions.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures follow the basic positions of the April party plenum line, which have made it a policy of consistent loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and of its creative development, a policy that closely follows the development of the real historical process and which takes its general laws into consideration by opening new and original paths of mastering these laws under the specific conditions existing in our country.

The lectures contain the most thorough and widely developed features of the April plenum line and its development so far, at the same time mapping out the future trends of its further creative development and enrichment.

The lectures contain a comprehensive synthesis of the Bulgarian experience, of our party's and people's experience in building socialism. They demonstrate once more the fact that the world's progress toward communism is a process of unprecedented historical creative accomplishment of the peoples and of the communist parties.

Each country makes its own contribution to this and is enriching the common theoretical treasury and the comprehensive practical achievements of the international communist and workers movement.

As a result of the synthesis and systematic analysis of both our own contemporary experience and international experience, and the new elaborations that further pursue, develop, and enrich the views on and the solutions of fundamentally important problems, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures represent a comprehensive concept for the construction of mature socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We will try to point out the chief peculiarities in the approach to the problems that Comrade Todor Zhivkov deals with and develops in his lectures, since this approach represents a guideline of basic methodological importance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist sociology in our country and of sociology generally speaking.

The solutions of theoretical problems and the explanations of the practical approaches form the basis of a thorough analysis of the objective, operative laws pertaining to the functioning and development of socialist society.

The theoretical basis of the analysis is contained in the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, the three basic components of which are applied in explaining each single problem dealt with in its multifarious aspects.

The lectures draw on the theoretical and practical experience of our own party and country, and on the wealth of international theoretical and practical experience of the international communist movement, accumulated by the countries belonging to the fraternal socialist community, and above all, the tremendous experience accumulated by the CPSU and the USSR.

The problems and their solutions are based on the specific analysis of real processes taking place in our country. The generally valid theoretical tenets and practical experience are creatively applied in conformity with the specific law-governed phenomena that are occurring in the building of mature socialism in Bulgaria.

Regarding the very specific analysis of the social reality of the law-governed trends and the practical opportunities for the development and perfection of socialist society in Bulgaria we are most strongly impressed by the creative application of the dialectic-materialist approach. Various processes and spheres of social life are encompassed in their dynamic unity, specific mutual links between the material and the intellectual sphere, between the base and the superstructure, between the objective conditions and necessities on the one hand, and the demands on the subjective factor, on the other, are being revealed.

In working out each problem the causes giving rise to it are sought, the changes that will ensure its actual solution are explained, the moving forces that are capable of and obliged to implement these changes are indicated, and the conditions that will give scope and incentive to the subjective forces' action in the direction that is the target of all aspirations are mapped out.

Particular attention is devoted in the lectures to uncovering the contradictions that are emerging in socialist life and to their development by accurately and correctly distinguishing between those contradictions that are expressions of weakness and those that have an arresting effect on the progress of society.

All these problems are reviewed in the context of the development of processes, of the gradual continuity and consistency of the measures aimed at their solution, of the speed, terms, and historical limits of the implementation of each task -- all these things are indicated in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures.

One of the extremely important special features of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's elaborations is the fact that the analysis of objective laws of social life and development is made in very close relationship with the analysis of social relations and the methods of their perfection. We have every justification for saying that in all our sociopolitical literature we have not yet come across a more comprehensive and thorough analysis of the system of social relations than in Todor Zhivkov's lectures, which are unprecedented in this respect. On the one hand, the perfection of social relations is regarded as the goal of our comprehensive development, within whose framework the increasingly full application of the socialist ideal for social justice and the gradual progress toward social uniformity of society are being implemented. On the other hand, the perfection of social relations is explained as a factor for the intensification of the working people's social activities and for the effectiveness of social management, as well as for an increased effectiveness of all social activities as a whole. In addition, the analysis consistently embraces all basic types of social relations, as well as the various levels of these relations.

The special features of the analysis that we have indicated can be shown most clearly by explaining and revealing the essence of the new economic approach, which introduces basic changes in the functioning of our national economic complex, as well as in its management. The fundamental reasons for introducing the new economic approach are discovered by analyzing the specific action of the law on values in socialist society, which is discussed in organic connection with the main, basic social relations -- namely ownership relations. The key to the solution of the problem of the real subjects of socialist property, in the forms and to the extent that it has developed in our country, can be found in the tenet about the state being the owner of socialist property and the workers collective being the master of it, in the tenet about economic organization where the specific competences and rights of the owner are coordinated with the rights and obligations of the master. This tenet has the character of a great scientific discovery and opens the path to a review and analysis of ownership as a system of relations between specific social subjects, and not simply as anonymous socialized wealth. Under these circumstances the regulating mechanisms and economic levers that are linked to the law of value have been specifically determined. Guarantees are thus created against attempts to disregard the law and opportunities increase for its conscious use in regulating relations between production units, as well as for stiumulating their economic activities. The measures for perfecting the relations of distribution, the wages system, and ways of increasing the working people's incomes are being worked out on this basis as well.

The analysis in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures further proceeds from the basic production-economic relations of ownership and distribution to the more specific levels of labor relations. The progress of the entire system of working relations in conformity with the consistent application of the economic approach and with the principles of the party's social policy -- this is the main problem that is solved in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's concept on the new Labor Code he has worked out.

Following the logic of objective interrelations in social processes, the author works out the problems of the intellectual sphere from the point of view of the role played by education, science, and culture in resolving socio-economic tasks pertaining to our development and as a direct factor in the comprehensive development of socialist personality.

In the spirit of classical Marxist-Leninist traditions Comrade Todor Zhivkov further proceeds to an analysis of the interaction between the socioeconomic base and the political superstructure. In this case again social relations represented by political relations are the core of the problem of perfecting the total political superstructure.

The elaborations on the functions of political and social organizations as the collective guarantors of the implementation of a given aspect of socioeconomic policy and in protecting the working people's interests, along with the elaborations on enhancing the importance and role of basic links in social administration, represent the very essence of the process of perfecting socialist democracy. The consistent and expanding application of the social-state principle in administration is shown to be an important mechanism in implementing the historical process of our country's transition from a socialist state to an all-people's [obshtonarodna] state. These elaborations show quite clearly that the problem does not solely pertain to the organizational perfection of the activities of certain political institutions or organizations, but to an essential change in the character of the system of political relations, that it pertains to the distribution of rights and responsibilities, which in turn produces a mass intensification of activities and a greater direct participation of socialist citizens and collectives in social administration. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures convincingly prove the objective necessity of developing socialist democracy along precisely this path by revealing the socioeconomic basis of the changes in the political superstructure while at the same time defending the principle that progressive changes in the socioeconomic sphere must, in turn, be ensured through respective political methods.

The Leninist idea of the decisive role of the political factor and the strength of its impact on the whole life of socialist society have been most brilliantly and creatively worked out in the lectures, in the discussion of the problems of the party as the backbone of our political system. The tenets on the perfection and consistent application of the political approach in the party's activities and on further enhancing the role of basic party organizations map out specific paths toward further enhancing the BCP's leading role and strength, since the party is the main guarantor for our socialist changes and for the unrelenting progress of our society.

All elaborations set forth in the lectures are inspired by one basic idea -- the idea that the working masses, led by the workers class, are the main force in our development, the idea of the working man as the creator of social progress under socialism and at the same time as supreme goal of the perfection and development of the socialist social system. "What is the chief problem in this respect? It is the new element in the approach to the working man, to his place and importance in society and in social development, to his self-realization in life; the new element is connected with the requirements which society imposes on the working man; the new element consists in the attitude of society to the working man's needs and necessities." (Lecture No 6, page 34-35).

The fact that greatest importance is attached to the problem of the socialist individual has not only great and lofty ideological-political meaning. It is also of primary methodological importance and guides the creative work of our scientific front in researching the problems on the surface of social relations through the point of view of each individual in relation to his role and place in the life of society.

With their tremendous heuristic impact Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures, which are characterized by great strength and efficiency of approach in the research and solution of problems, import a great impetus to the development of Marxist-Leninist social thought in our country. They open up new horizons in scientific research, and direct the scientists toward those fundamental problems of theory and of vitally important practical matters whose further scientific elaboration is the main prerequisite for the raising of our entire sociology and our sociological sciences as a whole to a new stage of development.

As for Bulgarian sociologists, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's lectures not only represent a model of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory for them, including a model of creative application and development of sociological notions and approaches in searching for an answer to the crucial problems of our contemporary socialist development. These lectures also represent a permanent theoretical base on which scientists will rely in their research work, which they will use as a source for their ideas and subjects in programming and implementing their scientific tasks. They represent an incentive and a recommendation for intensifying creative research and for improving the theoretical and practical standards of sociology in our country, for increasing its contribution to the party's and people's struggle in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, as well as in further developing and implementing the BCP's general April plenum line.

BRIEFS

NEW MIKHAYLOVGRAD PARTY SECRETARY -- A plenum of the Mikhakylovgrad Okrug Party Committee was held today at which organizational issues were discussed. The plenum was attended by Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary. The plenum relieved Anastas Purvanov, first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug Party Committee, because of his transfer to other work and Petur Nikolov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and previous secretary of the okrug party committee was unanimously elected first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug BCP Committee [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 84 AU]

NEW SHIP FOR USSR -- A festive ceremony was held at the Georgi Dimitrov Shipyard in Varna today. The new ship ("Vera Naretskaya"), which will be part of the Novorossyisk Shipping Line, was commissioned on this occasion, and the Soviet flag was hoisted. The ceremony was attended by Comrade Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug Party Committee; as well as by leading personalities of the Varna city and okrug, and by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, accompanied by Ivan (Boyko), USSR consul general in Varna. The Varna shipbuilders have delivered to the most important sector of Soviet navigation a modern vessel for the transportation of bulk freight, which has been awarded the highest Bulgarian quality mark. The Soviet crew, under the command of Captain Vladimir (Berkach), is preparing for its first voyage to the GDR. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 84 AU]

TELEVISED REAGAN SPEECH MEANT TO 'DECEIVE'

AU181057 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 84 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky commentary in the "Note" column: "Words Contradict Deeds; From our Washington Reporter"]

[Text] Reagan's television speech this Monday was preceded by loud publicity. The President will "set a new tone" for resuming the dialogue with the Soviet Union, the publicity said; he will voice "significant suggestions" for negotiations on armament reduction; and all this, it said, is the expression of "his concern" about the improvement of American-Soviet relations. This is the way the American press wrote, undoubtedly in keeping with instructions from the White House. The television speech was even timed for the morning, although television speeches usually are transmitted in the evening hours. This, too, was no coincidence -- Reagan was meant to be heard, above all, by Europe.

According to Reagan, 1984 is "a year in which the United States has the strongest position for establishing constructive, realistic, and working relations with the Soviet Union." This sounds like derision. In the history of American-Soviet relations since the end of the World War II we cannot find another situation in which relations between the two countries have been at such a low point, through Washington's fault.

Reagan stated that his government is interested in avoiding war and cutting back on armaments. This is unparalleled audacity, because war preparations in the United States are proceeding full blast, and armaments are escalating every day. The Pentagon's arms plans reach far beyond the nineties, into the beginning of the next century. So how can one take Reagan's words seriously? Can there be a greater contradiction between words and deeds?

How can one believe that the United States wants to continue negotiations on arms reduction when it is clearer than clear that, by its stands, it has broken up all the international forums that had been dealing with this issue that is so fateful for mankind? The deployment of American Pershing and cruise missiles has led the Geneva and Vienna negotiations into a blind alley, and placed enormous obstacles in the path of continuing the Helsinki process.

Then why have empty words of false peacemakers resounded from Washington specifically at the present moment? The answer is obvious. The deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe has not undermined the strength of the peace movement. And since the Pentagon is preparing to dispatch new missiles, a second wave of them, to the launching pads in the FRG, Italy, Britain, and other countries, it needs to deceive the vigilance of peace defenders. This is the same tactic as that Washington chose prior to deploying the first missiles. At that time, too, it spoke of peace. The demagogy is aimed primarily at Western Europe, but it also has a pre-election purpose.

Only 10 months remain until the American presidential elections; and therefore, according to the notions of Reagan's election staff, it is high time to put on the mask of "peacemaker."

Reagan's appearance before the television cameras now has another connection -- the Stockholm conference is beginning. The intent is to create the impression that the United States is interested in this conference, even though it is apparent that he who bases his policy on armament and the use of brutal force in international relations will scarcely agree to something that would make this impossible for him.

These are the reasons that the words now resounding from Washington are somewhat different from the words the world has been accustomed to. But the present words are nevertheless mere words. The deeds are quite different.

ARTICLE ON SOVIET MISSILE UNIT IN GDR REVIEWED

LD181912 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] In today's edition KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes a correspondent's report from a troop unit of the Soviet missile troops stationed on GDR territory. This troop unit was deployed there in agreement with the GDR Government within the framework of one of the Soviet countermeasures to the stationing of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe.

Prior to the arrival of the members of the Soviet missile troops, many preparations required for their life and combat training had been made at the place of deployment. Accommodation and rest rooms were erected. The troop unit has been furnished with all necessary training equipment. German friends provided great assistance in this.

In conversation with a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Sergeant Chernykh said: We must be ready to give the aggressor a suitable rebuff, if he dares to carry out an attack on the security of the Soviet people or that of our allies and friends. For this purpose a truly threatening and mighty weapon has been entrusted to us. The battery commander, Captain Kozlov, stressed in his talk with the correspondent that every Army member is fully aware of the significance and necessity of the measures that are being taken by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states in reply to the growing threat from NATO. We are thereby strengthening in the confidence that we will fulfill our mission, he said.

This confidence of the members of the missile troops in their own strength, the unshakable determination to fulfill their duty toward their homeland under all conditions and in all circumstances are the most important impression left by the visit to the area where the operational-tactical missiles of enhanced range [groesserer reichweite] are stationed on GDR territory, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA report states.

AXEN HOLDS TALKS WITH NETHERLANDS CP OFFICIAL

LD181847 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jan (ADN) -- The deployment of American first-strike weapons in the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy has further aggravated the international situation. This was stated in Berlin on Wednesday by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee, secretary, and by Jaap Wolff, Netherlands Communist Party Political Bureau member.

At present it is more important than ever to work together with all those who are concerned about securing peace in a coalition of goodwill and reason in order to end the arms race and to bring about a move toward disarmament and detente. Hermann Axen and Jaap Wolff agreed to further develop relations between the two parties in the interests of this struggle for joint aims.

On the basis of the assessments and conclusions of the seventh SED Central Committee session, Hermann Axen explained the foreign policy of the GDR, which is aimed consistently at preserving peace, ending the arms race, and improving the international situation. Jaap Wolff briefed Hermann Axen on the manifold actions of the broad peace movement in his country and on the struggle of the Netherlands Communist Party to secure peace, against the nuclear arms race, and particularly against the planned deployment of new American nuclear medium-range missiles in the Netherlands.

RESULTS OF 1983 ECONOMIC PLAN REVEAL GROWTH

LD1820Z6 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jan (ADN) The GDR economy continued to grow consistently last year and met and in some cases exceeded the growth rate targets in the plan. This is stated in a statement by the State Central Administration for Statistics on the implementation of the 1983 Economic Plan.

Because of the workers' outstanding achievements the produced national income rose by 4.4 percent, or M8.9 billion, and reached a volume of M210.1 billion. Eighty-four percent of the rise in national income resulted from increasing labor productivity.

According to the statement a special share of this was due because the industrial labor collectives achieved an increase of 4.6 percent in industrial goods production. The industrial combines produced goods for the needs of the population and industry to the tune of M4.9 billion in excess of plan. Agriculture provided a grain harvest of more than 10 million metric tons.

The statement goes on to note that the continuation of the tested policy of unity of the economic and social policy has proved to be a source of extensive mass initiative for the well-being of the people and securing peace. Last year fresh progress was made in shaping the advanced socialist society. This is based on the continuation of the far-reaching economic process of change introduced by the economic strategy for the eighties decided by the 10th SED Congress.

The increase in performance was accompanied by a considerable reduction in specific energy and material consumption. The improved utilization of indigenous internal resources, the concentration of science and technology on the most important economic processes, as well as the necessary structural changes secured a dynamic development in the economy, even in the face of the changed conditions on external markets and the aggravated international class conflict.

The firm foundation for the GDR's stable development in all spheres is the unshakable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the GDR's anchorage in the community of socialist states, the statement says. The GDR has further developed its vital cooperation with the USSR. The official friendship visit to the Soviet Union by the GDR party and state delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, opened up new prospects for this. The measures agreed with Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on expanding cooperation between the two countries are being purposefully carried out.

Economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the other CEMA member-countries is also making good progress, according to the statement. This has helped to consolidate the GDR's position in the worldwide division of labor. In trade with the non-socialist economic area a considerable positive balance of trade has once again been achieved.

The balance of the past year shows, according to the statement, that the GDR is in a position to achieve the necessary increase in performance to continue successfully its policy aimed at the well-being of the people and the peaceful future of its citizens in 1984, a year which has special significance as the 35th anniversary of its founding.

The socialist competition conducted by the trade unions in honor of the anniversary is aimed at strengthening the GDR on an all-round basis, securing peace and consistently continuing the tested policy of the main task, even in the face of the conditions of the aggravated international class conflict.

The most important thing in 1984 is to approach the process of intensification comprehensively and secure stable foundations for its long-term development, the statement stresses. The impending new step toward implementing this economic strategy is based on achieving a higher degree of efficiency by means of new technologies and new products. This was the most important prerequisite for achieving high growth in labor productivity, which goes hand in hand with improved working and living conditions.

The following figures are given in the statement:

National income grew by M8.9 billion, with 84 percent of the growth resulting from increased labor productivity. Production input per unit of national income fell by 3 percent.

In the sphere of the industrial ministries production of industrial goods increased by 4.6 percent and in the economy by 4.1 percent. The products produced above the plan by the combines amount to more than 3 days' output.

Labor productivity in the sphere of the industrial ministries rose considerably, by 6.6 percent. Unit consumption of economically important energy sources, raw materials and materials was reduced by 7 percent.

Domestic raw materials and energy sources to a value of M30 billion were produced. The quantity of secondary raw materials rose to more than 28 million metric tons and 17 economically important plants for the processing of secondary raw materials went into operation. the degree of utilization of secondary energy that is technically and economically usable increased to more than two-thirds, which corresponds to an energy equivalent of 28 million metric tons of raw brown coal.

Science and technology are proving more and more to be the main source for raising economic efficiency. Newly-developed products to a value of more than M60 billion accounted for 17 percent of total production of goods.

Through scientific-technical measures, which were more intensively aimed at rationalization, 545 million working hours were saved, which is the equivalent of the manpower of 300,000 workers.

The quality level of industrial production has further improved. The production of goods with the "Q" quality mark rose by 16 percent to 70 billion.

Investments for the planned improvement of the material-technical basis and for the successful continuation of social policy amounted to M58 billion.

Investments in the sphere of the industrial ministries increased by 3.8 percent. The greater concentration of investment activity on economically decisive projects led to shorter realization times and to higher efficiency. There was a large degree of rationalization investment and general overhauls for the modernization and reconstruction of existing production equipment. In the manufacturing industry 62 percent of the investments was used for rationalization.

In-house production of rationalization equipment increased by 21.4 percent in the economy.

Building construction and maintenance increased by 4.3 percent and net production in the sphere of the Ministry for construction Industry by 10.2 percent. Economic input in construction was lowered by M2 billion. The plan tasks were exceeded in housing construction: 197,221 dwellings were built or modernized. This was the highest annual result to date, and living conditions were improved for more than 590,000 people. Housing repairs rose by 9 percent.

In agriculture the plan for sales to the state has been fulfilled for fattened cattle and overfulfilled for milk and eggs.

The transport system fulfilled the requirements of the economy with increased production and lower volume of transport and a 5-percent lower unit input of transport.

Foreign trade turnover rose by 12 percent. Exports to the socialist countries rose by 12 percent and to the USSR by 16 percent. A considerable positive balance in trade with the nonsocialist countries was again achieved in 1983. Exports to these countries increased by 11 percent over the previous year. Economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the developing countries has been expanded. exports to the capitalist industrial countries increased considerably. Trade developed especially with Austria, France, Japan, and the FRG.

The economic results enable further improvement to be made in working and living conditions. The housing construction program -- the centerpiece of social policy -- is being purposefully implemented. With 197,221 new or modernized homes the highest annual result to date was achieved. Real wages are rising steadily. People's net monetary income increased by M2.9 billion, which was a rise of 2.3 percent over the previous year. Retail trade turnover rose to more than M104 billion. Services and repairs for the population increased by more than 4 percent. Full employment is guaranteed. In 1983, too, all school graduates received an apprenticeship or a study place.

In education 2,625 classrooms, 146 gymnasia, 951 boarding school and home places and 29,604 kindergarten places were added.

In the health and social services 257 new doctor's posts and 193 new dentists' posts were established. Some 4,199 new old-age persons and nursing home places were made available, as were 3,561 places in residential homes for elderly people. More than 360,000 adults and children attended health resorts for prophylactic and medical treatment and for convalescence.

The sporting highlight of the past year was the Seventh Gymnastics and Sports Festival and the Ninth Children's and Youth Spartakiad of the GDR. In world and European sports championships GDR men and women won 79 gold, 68 silver and 58 bronze medals.

During Karl Marx Year culture and art were characterized by many activities designed to raise the cultural level of the working class and to enrich intellectual and cultural life in the towns and villages.

Berlin, the capital, continued to develop as a worthy political, economic, and intellectual-cultural center.

The report says in conclusion: Supported by the strength of the working class, the cooperative farmers and all working people, the GDR, along with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, will continue successfully in this turbulent time of struggle the course set by the 10th SED Congress in domestic and foreign policy for the well-being of the people and the peaceful future of its citizens.

SED OFFICIALS ADDRESS KREIS DELEGATE CONFERENCES

AU171520 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 16 January on pages 3-5 carries reports, totalling approximately 10,000 words, on the speeches by various SED Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members at kreis delegate conferences over the weekend of 14-15 January:

According to one of the reports Hermann Axen, SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, praised the achievements of the miners and energy workers at a conference in Senftenberg. "With the start of the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles as new political situation has been created in Europe and in the world, he stressed. 'And literally at the start of the deployment of these American death missiles in Western Europe Comrade Erich Honecker analyzed the serious dangers emanating from the U.S. confrontation course, as well as the strengthened positions of peace and socialism at the seventh Central Committee meeting and thus gave a clear orientation, filled by realism and confidence, to the entire people.' Thus in the aggravated international situation the revolutionary fighting spirit of the party, the socialist awareness of the citizens of our republic were strengthened. Hermann Axen stressed that stringent demands result from the new situation for strengthening the GDR as a bulwark of peace and socialism in the center of Europe, for the stable and dynamic development of the national economy. 'The higher goals in the 1984 plan call for new efforts, a new approach, but they are realistic and can be achieved.' The successful fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the 1983 National Economic Plan has created excellent prerequisites for this in this kreis and in Cottbus Bezirk." The report notes that Peter Siegesmund was reelected first secretary of the kreis leadership.

According to a report the conference of Prenzlau Kreis was attended by Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Kurt Guter was reelected first secretary of the kreis leadership. "Werner Felfe proceeded from the basic idea of the seventh Central Committee meeting to continue all the more the struggle to avert a nuclear world war and the arms race, and to preserve peace in close fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union in view of the new situation caused by the deployment of nuclear first strike weapons in Western Europe. 'Thus we have the task of universally further strengthening socialism in the GDR.'"

The report on the kreis delegate conference of the Academy of Sciences, which was attended by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, states: "In his speech, Kurt Hager called the further performance increase in the national economy the basic prerequisite to be able to consistently continue the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy even under conditions of the increased class confrontation with imperialism. The research results achieved at the academy considerably contribute to increasing the effectiveness of production. The party and state leadership has great trust in the Academy of Sciences in particular and notes that it will not be disappointed." "Horst Klemm was reelected first secretary of the kreis leadership."

The conference in Altenburg, which reelected Wolfgang Nebe as first kreis secretary, was attended by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. "Fraternally allied with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, we will continue in the future to make our contribution to strengthening socialism, will place the unity of economic and social policy for the benefit of the people in the center of our action and constructively influence the international situation by the policy of peaceful coexistence."

"This general line of the 10th SED Congress,' Joachim Herrmann declared, 'has proven right. It is in line with the interests of our people and the vital interests of mankind. Therefore we will not deviate from this general line.' The speaker continued: True understanding for our peace policy is seen everywhere in the republic at the beginning of the year and is expressed in greater and greater achievements for strengthening socialism in all fields. Here the struggle for fulfilling the higher and higher plan targets is a focal point. For the main thing is to secure the achievements for the benefit of the people and to increase them. Our entire party works to ensure this as is proven by the course of the party elections."

The report on the Guestrow conference, which reelected Werner Maletzki as first secretary of the kreis leadership, notes it was attended by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo. "In the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism the workers class of the GDR, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, in alliance with all working people made our republic a cornerstone of peace and socialism in the center of Europe, the speaker stated. 'For years more and more socialist personalities have been developing, socialist ethics and way of life have been developing, a strong socialist national awareness has developed, and socialist democracy has been further improved,' he continued. Like the development in our fraternal countries, everything that has been achieved in the 35 years since the foundation of the GDR illustrates what the working people can achieve when they are the rulers of their state. The knowledge of our strength and that of the friendly socialist states strengthen optimism and confidence in victory."

According to the report on the delegate conference in Zwickau-Stadt Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who attended the meeting stressed: "The statement by Erich Honecker that the struggle for securing peace must be waged now all the more was met with great approval by all citizens. They regard it as their most important assignment to constantly strengthen the worker-peasant state and make the greatest possible contribution to consistently continuing the course of the main task." "Helmut Repmann was reelected first secretary of the kreis leadership."

The report on the conference in Merseburg Kreis, attended by Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, refers to Sindermann's address: "Today under the conditions of building developed socialism and the defense of peace against the imperialist policy of aggression, the traditions of the revolutionary workers movement are more vital than ever before, Horst Sindermann stated in his concluding address. High performances for constantly strengthening the republic are a prerequisite for making the worker-peasant state an unconquerable bastion against the attacks of imperialism. 'In a situation in which the capitalists are in the sickbed of their own crisis, we have proven that economic dynamism and political stability are the characteristics of our development.'" "Manfred Sachs was elected new first secretary of the kreis leadership. The conference thanked Gustav Waschkowitz, who did not apply as a candidate for reasons of age, for his successful work over decades at the head of the kreis party organization."

The report on the delegates meeting in Sonneberg notes it was attended by Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Politburo, and that it reelected Klaus Guensche as first secretary of the kreis leadership.

"Werner Jarowinsky stressed in his address that the seventh meeting of the Central Committee as an answer to the demands of the time is oriented toward strengthening the struggle for peace and security all the more now, at doing everything thinkable to limit the damage caused by the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles, and to continue at the same time the policy of the main task with even greater commitment."

The report on the meeting in Rathenow Kreis, which reelected Ulrich Albrecht as first secretary of the kreis leadership, quotes Guenter Schabowski, candidate member of the Politburo, who attended the meeting as follows: "'The decisions of the seventh Central Committee meeting have shown once again how important it is for our continent if here, at the borderline between socialism and imperialism, there exists a social force like our Marxist-Leninist party that reasonably and purposefully, unswervingly and constructively, works and struggles for the well-being of the workers class, the entire people, and finally the elementary vital interests of all peoples of Europe, in the interest of peace.'"

In the report on the conference in Rochlitz, attended by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo, it is stated: "The accountability report, discussion, and decision, Gerhard Schuerer noted in his concluding address, had shown how resourcefully and optimistically the 5,500 communists have started to implement the decisions of the seventh Central Committee meeting. Under the conditions of an aggravated international class confrontation the consistent continuation of the main task, in its unity of economic and social policy, is a great achievement of our people under the leadership of the party." "Horst Scheinfuss was reelected first secretary of the Kreis leadership."

REPORTAGE ON GLEMP'S VATICAN VISIT

LD181529/LD191018 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1600 GMT on 17 January reports that "Pope John Paul II received Primate Jozef Glemp in audience in the Vatican today."

Warsaw International Service in English at 1200 GMT on 18 January reports that the pope met privately with Cardinal Glemp in the Vatican and noted that Glemp also met with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Vatican secretary of state, and Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, secretary of the Church Council for Public Affairs.

Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish at 1200 GMT on 18 January also reports the meeting, adding that a brief communique was published and that Polish Cardinal Macharski had been appointed to the Church Council on Public Affairs.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ASSESSES 1983 RESULTS

AU181352 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14/15 Jan 84 pp 1-2

[Excerpt] PAP -- The Government Press Office has reported that on 13 January the Council of Ministers made an initial appraisal of the results of the socioeconomic tasks performed in 1983. The basic tasks of the 1983 Central Plan were implemented and even exceeded in many fields. In comparison with 1982, industrial production rose by 6.7 percent.

The plan for coal extraction was exceeded, as well as the plan for electricity production, crude oil processing, and lead, zinc, copper, and sulfur production. The amount of bituminous and brown coal to be extracted and the production of electricity fully met domestic and export demands. The import intensiveness of production was reduced while labor productivity increased.

A critical assessment was made of the sectors of the economy whose progress satisfies the plan's requirements. The planned change in the structure of production was not, in some cases, achieved and there was an insufficient growth in market production in particular.

Good results were obtained, however, in the socialized housing construction industry, compared with planned tasks. Some 1,377,000 apartments were turned over for use to the public, and compared with 1982 this constitutes an almost 7 percent increase.

The production situation in agriculture was very varied. 1983 was good for plant production, which exceeded the tasks set for it in the Central Annual Plan, and the procurement of agricultural products was greater than in 1982.

The situation in meat production is developing less favorably. The shortage of nutritive fodder caused a fall in the number of cattle and pigs. This resulted in a decline in the procurement of animals for slaughter during the fourth quarter of 1983, which will have an unfavorable effect on this year's procurement levels. Certain indications appeared at the end of last year that signaled the possibility of overcoming the deep animal breeding decline. This will be favored by the decisions the government recently made to support the development of animal production, especially pigs.

Our foreign trade increased in 1983 and made particularly fast developments with socialist countries. The deliveries from these countries exceeded our exports by Z51 billion and provided substantial assistance to our economy; they also increased our shared national income, while our turnover with capitalist countries similarly increased, so that our exports to them exceeded our imports from them by Z131 billion.

The fall in our standard of living was halted, and we made some progress in improving market supplies, although acute shortages of many goods still continue.

STATE COUNCIL ASSESSES TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT

AU180907 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 84 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- A session of the State Council was held at Belvedere Palace on 12 January to discuss the report on the State Council's activities in 1983 and adopt a work program for 1984.

The State Council familiarized itself with a report on the development of the trade unions established on the basis of the 12 October 1982 law and the State Council law on the principles of forming plant and nationwide trade union organizations. The report said that this law had been frequently exploited to serve the revival of the trade union movement.

Much progress has been made in this area and at present about 4 million members are affiliated with trade unions. The formation of trade union organizations all over the country has become widespread. The State Council exercised its legal capacity by granting permission to 72 nationwide trade union organizations to commence their activities earlier than scheduled.

The State Council expressed regard for the increasing activity of trade union organizations in undertaking various measures to improve the working and living conditions of the work forces, as well as for the growing sense of joint responsibility unions are feeling for the results of the plants' work.

The position taken by the trade unions is now influencing the way in which the state's social policies are formed, and the practice of the authorities to consult the trade unions on plans for any important decisions they want to make is also being consolidated. An expression of this was the recent talks on the planned price changes.

Taking into account the opinions of the trade unions and responding to their remarks and demands is a statutory duty of all state bodies. An inspection of the conditions under which trade union organizations at plants function and how they observe the principles of the trade union law, will be carried out this year by the Supreme Chamber of Control at the recommendation of the State Council. An important service to the trady unions should be performed by the trade union studies center, especially regarding the training of trade union activists.

It was deemed necessary that trade unions' influence on work safety be increased by developing the activities of social work inspectors, as well as the cooperation of trade union organizations with the State Work Inspectorate.

The State Council will support the initiatives proposed by the trade unions and will favor their increased standing and activeness.

The State Council appointed Jozef Urbanowicz ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PPR to the Mongolian People's Republic.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES NON-CATHOLIC CHURCH LEADERS

LD182203 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Belweder: Henryk Jablonski, Council of State chairman, has met heads of non-Catholic churches and other religious associations.

Against the background of the situation in Poland and in the world, the activity of churches' religious associations in 1983 was discussed. It was emphasized that support for the process of stabilization in Poland, the struggles against social pathology, participation in a responsible dialogue between the authorities and the public are duties that arise from the activities of the churches and religious associations in Poland.

Professor Henryk Jablonski expressed his conviction that the affinity between the religious function and the sociopatriotic function will bring about in 1984 an increasingly beneficial situation in resolving important national and state problems. Minister Adam Lopatka attended the meeting.

JABLONSKI NEW YEAR ADDRESS TO DIPLOMATS

AU171156 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 84 p 2

[Speech given by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to the diplomatic corps at a traditional New Year's reception for diplomats at the Wilanow Palace in Warsaw on 11 January]

[Text] In January 1982 I presented you with a broad argumentation substantiating the necessity for introducing martial law in accordance with our Constitution. In particular, I drew your attention to the fact that we had been acting thus not only in the interest of our own nation but of all of Europe, in the interest of peace, a common value of all the nations of the world.

It was obvious for us, responsible for the destinies of our country, that a state torn apart by contradictions that made normal work in key branches of the economy impossible, a state of advancing anarchy and destruction facing a civil war closing in at a quick pace, would inevitably have been threatened with incalculable consequences, and not for us alone, if this dangerous evolution of events had not been checked.

One year later, in January 1983, when martial law already had been suspended, I could state with satisfaction that Poland again became a country of order and consolidated internal calm, and subsequently, a reliable partner in international relations. At the time I also voiced my conviction that further progress in normalization would allow us to lift martial law in the not too distant future.

This prognosis has fully materialized. The past year saw further favorable changes allowing martial law to be lifted last July. A steady improvement has been noted in all fields of political and economic life. It is still too insignificant compared to our desires but already it has become a continuous process and nothing indicates that it might be halted.

The program of understanding and socialist renewal, worked out jointly by the PZPR and other allied parties -- in whose materialization the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) is playing a vital role -- increasingly continues to become a joint program of all Poles. The system of democratic institutions in our country is constantly strengthening, not only through new laws passed by our parliament, but also -- and perhaps one should say above all -- through practical social life.

You must know, ladies and gentlemen, the saying that is general in Poland and that states "the government is working behind an open curtain." All of its most important decisions are presented to society beforehand for wide consultation. We are also consistently aiming to increase the role of the representative bodies of authority.

In a few months time the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-management bodies, which you must know about, will become valid. This law will increase society's influence on the administration of local affairs, rural areas, cities, and voivodships, to an extent we have never known before. The decision to hold elections to the people's councils soon is also a sign that the sociopolitical situation is normalizing.

We still have quite a few difficulties, and they will certainly continue to persist in the sphere of economy, but nobody can doubt that we are recovering from the crisis in this field also. It is confirmed by growing production and labor productivity. This has not occurred by chance. The positive influence of the broadly designed reform mechanisms is becoming ever more evident, enterprises grow more independent, the role and significance of the workers' self-governments increases, the new renascent, self-governed and independent trade unions keep consolidating.

I believe the above words are important not only for us but also for all of Poland's friends.

There is one matter, however, that must attract the attention of my esteemed guests. We have achieved our success under exceptionally unfavorable conditions.

A significant element of the economic development of every country is cooperation and trade with other countries. It is always of vast significance -- the more so when a country gets out of the crisis by its own tremendous effort.

Both at the most difficult moments and now when the situation is improving, we have permanently met the helpful hand of our socialist allies, primarily the USSR. We also record some positive trends in the development of economic cooperation with a number of states with different political systems.

We regret to state, however, that attempts to interfere in our internal affairs are still taken against our country and the policy of restrictions and discrimination is continued. It is not our fault, then, that relations with those states which pursue such a policy cannot prosperously develop. We are not playing tit for tat. While guarding the interests of our state and nation we have never acted either in defiance of international law, accepted commitments and agreements, or contrary to generally accepted rules of interstate relations.

In this respect Poland was and will remain an open country that does not create barriers and limitations and is ready for cooperation with everyone, but a partnerly, mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights.

You witness transformations taking place in Poland and -- if you take an unbiased look at them -- you appreciate their range and signficance. Therefore, I think the time has come for everybody to draw appropriate conclusions from it. I believe that we can count on you, gentlemen ambassadors, on your knowledge of the country and the administration, on your experience, and on your desire to help develop comprehensive cooperation between Poland and the countries you represent. Esteemed gentlemen, I wish to assure you that all your constructive activities will meet with our understanding and full support.

This encouragement to develop relations with Poland implies that I am trying to look into the future with some optimism, though the general situation in the world evolves, especially in the recent period, in an undesirable direction.

In spite of the fact that last year brought some undoubtedly positive developments, such as a fruitful ending of the Madrid meeting and the decision to convene a conference in Stockholm that we are facing now, the general atmosphere of international relations was primarily affected by adverse phenomena on account of their seriousness.

It is enough to point out only a few of them.

Despite all the hopes we had not so long ago tensions have dangerously intensified in the Middle East, Central America, and other parts of the world. Attempts emerged to undermine the rightness of the peaceful political and territorial order on our continent shaped according to the provisions of inseparable agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam. Aspirations were revived again to take up international politics from the position of force, which must always carry the seeds of armed confrontation. And finally, the deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in some West European countries started towards the end of last year created a new kind of situation, caused dangerous tension in East-West relations, and led to a break in both the Geneva and the Vienna disarmament talks. Under these conditions an arms race -- one involving arms that are the most dangerous ones and that threaten the whole of mankind with extermination -- is inevitable. We must not lose sight of this prospect for even a moment because there would be no victors in a nuclear conflict.

Despite all the facts mentioned above, we believe there is still time to thoroughly alter the situation. We are deeply convinced that the USSR Supreme Soviet's latest resolution, just like previous Soviet initiatives, correctly shows which way out to take. This is also why we fully support the Soviet Union's aim to reduce both strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons.

The PPR's policy on peace and security always has been and always will be energetic and firm. This is why in 1984, in joint activity with our allies, we will continue to do everything to remain in the front rank in the struggle for a return to the policy of detente and cooperation. We will undertake comprehensive activity for this purpose both in multilateral and in bilateral relations. We attach particular importance to the Stockholm conference on confidence building and disarmament in Europe. For we wish the conference to initiate a return to realism and a departure from the policy of confrontation toward agreement and peaceful coexistence between nations. We wish to develop simultaneously our bilateral relations with all states in Europe and on other continents, regardless of their system. The possibilities for this are wide. Gentlemen ambassadors, please make joint use of these possibilities in order to strengthen peace for the sake of our nations and peoples.

Harmoniously acting in this spirit, we can make 1984 a year of more optimistic prospects for all the people of the world.

Allow me, gentlemen ambassadors, to convey through you my best wishes for your nations and for the supreme authorities and governments of the countries represented by you.

Also accept my wishes for the health and personal success of you and your wives, families, and colleagues.

'TRANSCRIPT'OF 4 JAN URBAN PRESS CONFERENCE

AU170924 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jan 84 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban to foreign journalists in the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 4 January]

[Excerpts] Sylvia Odoriz, EFE (Spain): Minister, you have given us the number of people who came out of hiding during the amnesty, but I would like to know what the government estimates its present opposition or underground to number?

Jerzy Urban: It is difficult to assess the number of people now in the opposition, because by opposition...

Sylvia Odoriz: An error in translation, what I meant was the underground.

Jerzy Urban: If by underground one means people who are living on an illegal basis, whose address is not known, and who cannot be reached, then we are talking about a small group of people. There are, at any rate, less than 100, or even considerably fewer than 100. On the other hand, if we classify those who perform some sort of illegal acts on political grounds as being members of the underground then it is difficult to say how many there are, for all we know is that the number of such offences is constantly decreasing. In any case, we think that if 1,120 people came out of hiding then the potential activities of the opposition have been considerably reduced. One could say that the leaders of the underground who have not come forward, something we did not, after all, count on or expect, have now become like generals who have almost no army left.

Charles Gans, CHICAGO SUN TIMES (United States): The hearing of Maciej Szczepanski is approaching its completion. Its concluding statements give one the impression that it actually has an almost political flavor to it. So, it is in connection with this that I would like to know the government's current position on bringing former high-ranking functionaries from Gierek's administration to justice.

Jerzy Urban: The hearing against Maciej Szczepanski is not a political case because it involves criminal and bureaucratic offences. The court is considering these offences and the fact that, as the chairman of the radio and television network Maciej Szczepanski was a political personality, does not change the fact that the case does not, after all, concern his political or his journalistic and propaganda activities.

The government's attitude to bringing the members of the former administration to justice has not changed in the least. All our political moves connected with this, like dismissing people from the party and the parliament up to divesting them of their decorations, clearly show the government's political attitude to the various kind of offences that the representatives of the previous administration committed. As you know, some of them are awaiting trial under constitutional jurisdiction before the State Tribune. However, I think that the main reason behind these proceedings will serve to analyze and investigate all the faulty mechanisms that brought on these bad political and economic results. In spite of this, work was carried out to sentence or to reprieve various people of the materialistic offenses of which they had been accused. Only a few of these cases are still being investigated because they are so complicated that they have not had sentences passed on them yet.

Sylvia Odoriz: It appears from the foreign press that a letter sent by Adam Michnik to General Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, was published in Paris. Minister, could you confirm its existence and tell us something about its contents?

Jerzy Urban: I know the contents of such a letter from foreign radio broadcasts. I have nothing else to say on this subject.

Sylvia Odoriz: Which means that you confirm the fact that Minister Kiszczak received this letter.

Jerzy Urban: No, I am confirming the fact that the foreign radio stations that transmit programs in the Polish language, transmitted the text of what was called "Michnik's letter to General Kiszczak," and it was this text that I became familiar with. However, I simply did not ask the Ministry of Internal Affairs if such a letter had arrived or not.

Renata Marsch, DPA (FRG): A question for Minister Urban in his role as a publisher.

Jerzy Urban: Then I will gladly talk to you after the press conference.

Renata Marsch: No, I am concerned with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which sharply attacked and criticized TU I TERAZ, a journal that you were once closely connected with.

Jerzy Urban: I would have thought it to be quite normal for there to be disputes between various journals. I did not, to be honest, read the article that was the subject of the dispute and only know it from various summary accounts, but I do not think it is unnatural for journals to have differences in the way they assess historical phenomena.

Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO (France): This is not a spiteful question, but a request. Would it be possible to organize a joint press conference in this hall with you and Father Orszulik, the director of the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate, after the meeting between Army General Jaruzelski and Cardinal Glemp?

Jerzy Urban: No, due to the fact that I am sure neither of us would have more to say for ourselves than the communique that would be read out after the meeting takes place. Such talks are confidential, but the whole idea of a joint conference is an initiative that I would gladly accept if the Episcopate's spokesman so wished.

But before you decide on your next question, I would like to say a few words about some of your reports.

The BBC reported on 28 December on the existence of some kind of commission that is composed of -- and here I quote -- "General Kiszczak along with many famous lay Catholics and former Solidarity advisors like Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Andrzej Wielowiejski," and said that, "this commission was formed to discuss the issue of political prisoners." I simply want to put things straight here and say that the whole report is untrue from beginning to end.

On 31 December 1983, the BBC reported that Minister Lopatka [for religious affairs] had spoken of the inadmissible dissemination of sacral culture in Poland. This is also untrue. I will not repeat the text of the interview with Minister Lopatka that was published by PAP, however, in this speech Minister Lopatka distinctly opposed certain trends that have been occurring in this field, but spoke at the same time, of the permanent and significant place that sacral culture occupies in Poland's cultural life. The BBC's summary of Minister Lopatka's views is completely contrary to the text of his speech, the speech which the BBC cited.

Then, on 31 December 1983, the BBC reported that many extraordinary regulations are going to be passed in connection with the Law on the State of Emergency. This is an error as the state of emergency will not be carried into effect. All that happened was the creation of a certain legal possibility. However, there is no need to confuse legal potential with the actual implementation of the regulations pertaining to the state of emergency.

I wanted to deny the report published by the Vienna KURIER although it is not represented here, because it referred to a conversation with some anonymous representative of the Main Statistical Office who was supposed to have confided in the KURIER journalist that there are two kinds of statistics in Poland: one that is published and one that is internal. The internal one is the real one, while the published figure is false, but the internal one, although it is really is still also incorrect because if the figures are bad then they are not shown to General Jaruzelski.

There is no need to dwell on what is simply a very odd article. I suggested to the chairman of the Main Statistical Office that he should reply to this and inform the editors of the KURIER a little about how we arrive at our statistics, the open and public nature of the methods we use, as well as the mechanisms we employ to prepare our figures, mechanisms that are totally contrary to the ones the KURIER describes. Thus, lies are published on the basis of anonymous sources that have doubtless been invented, and these are then disseminated by the Western media.

TRADE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON FOOD IMPORTS

LD181353 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Antoni Karas by correspondent Anna Andrzejewska on food imports in 1984; place and date not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Andrzejewska] Mr Minister, what kind of food imports can we afford this year?

[Karas] We must continue, fortunately on a considerably lower level, the import of consumer cereals and high-protein feed. In connection with the drop in livestock numbers we must also continue importing pork in particular, a certain amount of beef, and broiler chickens.

[Andrzejewska] Are we buying the meat mainly in China?

[Karas] Besides China, which has for several years been the supplier of pork, we have to buy quite large amounts in the developed European countries, but we will be able to buy some of that meat in the socialist countries in [word indistinct] transactions. Besides meat, we will continue to import lard, fresh and frozen fish, and vegetable fats. We will also, as previously, import a number of market goods such as rice, tea, cocoa beans, coffee, certain amounts of citrus fruit from the socialist countries and, finally -- if one can call them consumer goods -- tobacco and cigarettes.

[Andrzejewska] What will the tea situation really be? Tea is a main topic of conversation. We had it before Christmas and that is all for the time being.

[Karas] Well, in regard to tea, there is some sort of completely incomprehensible situation for us. Every year we import more and more of this commodity. For example, in 1980 imports amounted to not much more than 23,000 tons; in 1983 it was almost 27,000 tons. This is a painful matter. As a result of bad harvests, especially in Sri Lanka, tea prices reached a record level of almost $5,000. A decision has been taken to cover the market needs to the maximum degree, so that tea is available all year round. In connection with this, we plan to import 10,000 tons in the first quarter.

[Andrzejewska] What are we buying all this with, Minister? For ready money?

[Karas] Unfortunately, we are buying all this for ready cash, especially...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] (?Are you paying) for the import of our food too?

[Karas] Absolutely, yes; despite the fact that since 1976 the trade balance in foodstuffs has been negative. It must be said that we achieved great success last year, that balance was relatively low, not much in excess of $100 million. But the need to increase imports this year of some foodstuffs will again cause that balance to rise to a considerable higher level.

THEORETICIAN SCHAFF ON SOLIDARITY, MARTIAL LAW

PM181112 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 8 Jan 84 p 8

[Jose Comas report on undated interview in Warsaw with Polish theoretician Adam Schaff: "Jaruzelski Saved the Country But Should Have Dissolved the Party"]

[Text] In Adam Schaff's opinion, socialism as a socioeconomic system is irremovable in Poland, and "could only be changed as a result of a world war, which, if it were to break out, would be a nuclear war. It is not worthwhile forming an idea of what would come after; it is sufficient to see the movie 'The Day After' to realize that it would be the end. I am not talking here about whether this is good or bad but about what actually exists. This does not mean that things must remain as they are now -- quite the contrary. I would be very sad if everything remained like that. The forms can and must change, but socialism as an economic structure of society remains. What happens in the superstructure and its forms will change, and that is what is happening now. There will be various changes, but I am absolutely certain that socialism will remain in Poland."

Schaff does not believe that socialism's existence in Poland is based solely on the country's geostrategic position -- next to the Soviet Union -- and the Polish Army's pressure. "That is an oversimplification. Certainly Poland is surrounded by other socialist countries. This cannot be forgotten. It is not like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR, which have borders with Western countries. Poland has borders only with the socialist countries. This factor is very important geopolitically, but it is not everything. What was said abroad -- that Russian troops disguised as Poles intervened here (13 December, when martial law was declared) -- is nonsense. It was the Polish Army. The existence of the other countries around is an important variable, but the situation took shape here on the basis of the struggle existing within here."

In Schaff's opinion, "It is a problem not only for the Army but for the entire apparatus as a whole, for the state and the party, which have a common interest in this system's survival. They control the coercive apparatus -- the Army and the Police -- but these are millions of people. This is forgotten and not considered. It is forgotten that in Solidarity's ranks there were millions of party members, and this was an important factor. All those people, those who are linked to the party ideologically -- without a real ideology but linked to the party because of their interests -- represent a great force in Poland."

Power Apparatus Intact

According to the Marxist professor, the power apparatus "in Poland is intact. There was not even a single instance of desertion or disobedience by the Polish troops during the entire period of martial law. During the intervention in Czechoslovakia there were instances of suicide by the Soviet troops there, but there was not even a single instance among the Polish troops, because it was not a Soviet intervention, as in Czechoslovakia. This apparatus is very powerful. It must be recalled that Poland has the second largest Army in Europe, after the Soviet Union. It is a country with 50 Army divisions and 10 divisions of special units, which constitutes 60 well-trained divisions with everything necessary. This is a fantastic force that must be taken into account by anybody who seeks to do something with all this force."

Schaff believes that "the main mistake of those who were planning to overthrow the regime in Poland can be seen in British general, Sir John Hackett's book "The Third World War," because in all that planning there was one mistake: From the very outset the Army rose up against the government and joined the rebels.

Those who planned and stored that data in the computers did not know something that anybody who thinks politically in Poland knows: The Army fully supports the government. It was forecast that the Army would rebel, but this was an enormous mistake. The CIA might have realized that the Army was utterly and completely opposed to Solidarity. Why? Several answers can be given to this. But primarily, because the military command wants order and tranquility. This was the mistake in all the calculation."

Adam Schaff is convinced that Jaruzelski's intervention -- the military coup -- was necessary. "After 2 years I am as convinced as I was at the time: It was absolutely necessary. A decision was taken in extremis; it was a matter of 2 or 3 days. I know it; I am not talking about speculation but with knowledge of the facts. If it had not been done, if Jaruzelski and the military had not intervened, 3 days later a bloody confrontation, with a civil war in Poland, would have occurred. The demonstrations would have begun, there would have been the beginning of a bloody confrontation. In that situation an intervention from all sides would have been inescapable. This was known. Everything was prepared. If it had happened in that way it could have meant the end of Poland. In this respect I am very pessimistic, not only in regard to the past but about the future, if bloody confrontations should occur. This must be said very deliberately. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries, not because they like it, not because they are brutal or do not like the Poles, but because they cannot allow the bridge between the Soviet Union and the 20 divisions in the GDR to be endangered. [sentence as published] We have a geopolitical position that some people may regret, but we are between the East and the West and we are the corridor, and here order and tranquillity must reign. The Soviet Union and the other allies cannot allow anything else. If there is no order, it will be imposed by force. We are not on the other side of the Pyrenees; it would not be like in your country. We are between the Bug (river on the Soviet border) and the Odra (river on the border with the GDR); here it would not be just bloodshed. I say this with regret, but with deep conviction: A situation would be reached here that would lead to the annihilation of Poland's independence."

In order to support his line of argument Schaff referred to the late Polish primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. "Now they call him 'the primate of the millenium,' but formerly they spat at him. Wyszynski said the same thing. His last speech before he died, 28 March 1981, is something fantastic. A book published in Rome about Wyszynski's last days did not publish that speech. I believe that it is a great mistake by those in charge of propaganda in Poland not to disseminate that document because it talks unpleasantly about Russia. Nor do the Polish exiles publish the document because they do not like it. It was a speech to the Solidarity leaders, and he talks to them about responsibility for the nation's future and warns against foolishness and seeking to go too far, because everything could be lost and then only tears could be shed, but it would be too late. It was prophetic, and he was saying this to all those Walesas and those who cannot take five steps without kneeling but do not obey the Church. He warned them and said that Poland could disappear. A man who was aware that he was about to die said this."

According to Schaff, Poland's existence was threatened because there were two Solidarities: "The initial Solidarity, a spontaneous workers movement of a trade union nature, and the second Solidarity, a substitute political party, a hodge-podge ranging from the extreme right of a fascist nature, such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), to the extreme left of the Social Self-Defense Committee (KDR), a form of anarcho-syndicalism, with everything imaginable in the center. It was a party that degenerated and brought anarchy to Poland. The military did what they had to do. The decision was correct."

Jaruzelski's Mistake

However, Schaff believes that Jaruzelski made one mistake:

"The major negative element was that the military did not decide on that night of 12-13 December to dissolve the party. If they had so decided they would have won everything. Another party could have been set up, as Kadar did in Hungary. They would have had the majority of the nation behind them, because 70 percent or 80 percent of the Polish people would have believed that it was a nonpartisan action on behalf of the nation. A new party would have been built on different foundations and with new people. They did not do this, and this is the negative factor now weighing heavily on the situation and posing problems."

Schaff is pessimistic about the future: "Only on one condition can peaceful and step-by-step development be achieved: dialogue and full cooperation between the government and the Church -- not with Solidarity. Solidarity does not exist, and this must be realized in the West. Solidarity does not and will not exist. It will never be allowed again, because what is Solidarity? The trade union or the substitute party? But the Church is representative of the absolute majority of the nation, because 90 percent or 95 percent are believing Catholics. Not only outside the party but within the party there are conservative forces that are opposed, but they are also opposed to Jaruzelski and are very weak. That split also exists in the Church. There are people who want cooperation -- Primate Glemp and those around him, supported by the pope. There are also extremists in the Church who do not want it."

Schaff believes that the government and the Church have "an enormous historical responsibility. If they do not cooperate, we will definitely be heading toward new developments that in 2 or 3 years could cause an explosion. In that event there will be bloody incidents involving the danger of the end of Poland."

RAKOWSKI ON EXPERIENCE AS JOURNALIST, POLITICIAN

PM181654 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Waldemar Piasecki; date and place not given]

[Text] Piasecki: What section of our society accepts you in your role of deputy premier? How does it compare with the period when you were heading the editorial team of POLITYKA?

Rakowski: It seems counterproductive to refer to my POLITYKA period today. The events following August 1980 brought about tremendous changes in the social and political attitudes of millions of Polish citizens, including, of course, POLITYKA readers. In many cases the criteria applied to the periodical I edited and to myself prior to August 1980 became quite useless in the new situation. There is no doubt that a certain proportion of POLITYKA readers withdrew their support for the political line I was pursuing both before and after August 1980. Some of them did it out of conviction, others did it because it was the thing to do at the time. Regarding the question of what proportion of the public accepts me in my role of deputy premier, the answer is very difficult. Perhaps, though, I can comment on it in a more general way. It is usually the case that public opinion is distinctly divided in its appraisal of any public figure, particularly in turbulent times filled with extraordinary events. Some gladly offer him their unlimited trust while others nurture feelings of unbounded hate toward him. It is just so in my case. There are also some people whose attitude toward me is best expressed by the German word "Haslebe" meaning, roughly, a love-hate relationship. There are others who will, at one given moment, approve of my entire line -- or, perhaps, only one part of it -- while at other times they judge some step or other that I have taken from positions of more or less severe criticism. There are, finally, some who could not care less.

If I am to answer your question by comparing the attitudes of different generations, then I think that I can find widespread support among the older generation, less of it among the middle-aged group, and the least support among university students and young people in their last years of high school. Looking in turn at different socio-professional groups, I have most often encountered attitudes of prejudice against me among the so-called intellectuals. Their circles are populated with so-called visionaries [nawiedzeni] that is, people whose gaze is fixed on some unspecified mission that destiny has bestowed upon them. They are very harsh in their judgment of anyone who is not with them. I know that there is a group of people who hate me wholeheartedly. I am not disturbed by those sentiments. I myself am a total stranger to the feelings of hate, intransigence or intolerance, and it was the years I spent with POLITYKA to which I owe that. And perhaps I also owe the fact that I lack those feelings to my wonderful mother: her husband had been murdered by the Nazis, yet in 1945 she would secretly take food to German prisoners of war.

I would like to wind up these comments with this observation: I am well aware of the fact that, regardless of whether I am accepted or not, my name is constantly in circulation among the public, be it at official meetings, social gatherings, or family get-togethers.

Piasecki: From the moment you took up your post as deputy premier you have served the cause of social accord based on full awareness of our political reality. You have accumulated a considerable store of experience in this matter. How do you see the chance of achieving that accord from today's perspective, and how does your assessment stand in relation to your thoughts and opinions in your early days in office?

Rakowski: I will not deny that during my early days in office I believed that it would be possible to achieve such an accord among the majority of Polish people at least, if not among all, in several matters of ultimate importance for our nation. I thought then that the immediate goals confronting the nation and stated by General Wojciech Jaruzelski in his 12 February 1981 Sejm expose would be accepted in actual fact, instead of just verbally, by the various social and political forces that were at that time so very active in peresenting their own view of our Polish problems. During the months that followed it became necessary to say good-bye to that faith and that hope. Poland's economy was being ruined by the strikes and other operations designed to turn people's attention away from honest work, while the Solidarity leadership was gradually becoming more and more arrogant, suggesting more and more openly that any national accord could only take place on its own terms. The attitude adopted by the Solidarity leadership was epitomized by Karol Modzelewski's notorious exclamation: "This is going to be their last battle."

Later events took place that once again divided our nation and considerably delayed the chance of realizing those ideas defining the essence of a national accord. Now we are again moving forward, slowly and laboriously, in a step-by-step progress in getting fellow Poles together over the most essential national goals. The progress is, however, disproportionately slow in relation to the needs. Could it be accelerated? I think it could in certain areas, but on the whole we are dealing with a historical process that requires more time. In other words, I believe that the effects of the upheaval experienced by our nation will last for a long while yet.

Piasecki: Which tasks do you consider to be the most important for building up the people's trust in the government, a trust that constitutes an important element of the process of getting the nation to stand together? It is no secret that the most numerous part of our society is the so-called silent majority -- the group that stands between the declared adversaries of the system and those who actively support the party and government line.

Rakowski: I repeat after General Wojciech Jaruzelski: It is necessary to unceasingly create facts that will give credibility to words, that is, to all assurances and promises declared publicly.

My accumulated experience shows unequivocally that today in Poland many people are exceptionally sensitive to every move on the part of the authorities, which is at variance with what we say, with what has been written down in the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and in government sectional programs. I am of the opinion that the only effective method of winning over the so-called silent majority is to avoid any divergences between words and deeds. I do not have any belief at all in some spectacular action. It is, of course, necessary to add here that very many people who belong to that silent majority remain silent, or show no inclination to actively express their support for our policy, for reasons that are very prosaic but at the same time very important. Those prosaic reasons are none other than the difficult material conditions, which are bound to cause discontent and even more than discontent: anger and mistrust combined with resentment against the rulers. In other words, it is no easy task to try and conciliate the silent majority.

Piasecki: I think that our economic situation, which is so acutely felt by each and every family, is an important argument in the attempts to win the silent majority over to our side. The economic reform has not been unequivocally approved by the public (who point out, among other things, the rising cost of living caused by uncontrolled price increases as well as instances of social injustice regarding people's incomes). How then would you assess the course the reform has taken to date? Do you see any possibilities of introducing corrections? If so, what corrections?

Rakowski: I am not a trained economist, and so this sort of question ought to be put to Professor Wladyslaw Baka [government plenipotentiary for economic reform] rather than myself. My comments on the subject might be regarded as an attempt at being smart on the part of a deputy premier whose competence lies elsewhere in the sphere of the superstructure. So I can only comment on the economic reform from the position of an observer. The precepts of the economic reform herald tremendous changes in both the economic and social spheres. They constitute a traumatic interuption in the way of thinking and practice followed for dozens of years. Anything that strikes with full impact at traditional thinking and traditional activity patterns must meet with resistance, arouse doubt, and so on. For many people the economic reform is tantamount to a leap into the unknown. This, it seems to me, means that its targets cannot be attained in just 2 or 3 years, especially since the reform was introduced in singularly adverse economic circumstances. Regarding the possibility of corrections, the government did -- as we know -- submit to the Sejm its suggestions for alterations in some of the acts responsible for the introduction of the economic reform, and the parliament effected the appropriate amendments.

Piasecki: You occupy a place in a narrow circle of decisionmakers (the government) in our country. How does your experience as a journalist help you in fulfilling your role within it, and to what extent does it have a hindering effect?

Rakowski: My work as a journalist -- and, more specifically, political publicist -- coupled with the fact that I held the function of editor in chief for a quarter of a century, has helped me to achieve a rather good understanding of the laws governing development within social structures. I have also had many opportunities and chances to get an insight into thousands of smaller and more weighty matters. I have seen large and small conflicts occur and I myself have often been a participant in them rather than a mere witness. I have come to know life. All that experience has proved helpful in my present work. How much of a hindrance is it? I do not think this kind of experience can be a hindrance for me. This does not, of course, mean that I see no weak points in my work or that I am a man with no faults whatsoever, but that is a different subject.

Piasecki: What do you intend to do after leaving your post of deputy premier? Do you think it would be possible for you to return to journalism -- which would doubtless establish an interesting precedent in our political history?

Rakowski: A return to active journalism would be possible, but I do not contemplate doing that. I regard that chapter of my life as closed, and there are many reasons for this. I have worked professionally for 43 years now, having started as an office boy at the age of 13. I think that instead of contemplating a return to active journalism now, I should plan my life so as to be able to devote the autumn of my days to writing the several books which I "carry around in my head." I think my life has been (and continues to be) very rich and interesting and that I ought to find enough time now for leaving something behind that might be of use to the next generation. Please do not take it as an attempt at coquetry, but I do get rather tired now and again these days, and I regard it as quite amusing when some people suggest that I want to climb still higher up the hierarchy. I have already received more from life than I had expected to receive, more satisfaction than anyone might think. Quite simply, I am not joining the race; I remain perfectly indifferent to it.

Piasecki: It is a natural property of power that it corrupts those who wield it. It is therefore necessary to develop a system of social protective measures to prevent this process taking place (the press, along with journalists, was supposed to constitute such a system of prevention). POLITYKA wrote on this subject in the autumn of 1981. How do you see this problem, considering that there exists a certain dualism in your role: your profession as jounralist combined with your function as Government Presidium member?

Rakowski: POLITYKA was not the first to tackle this subject. It has been discussed and written about since the dawn of humanity or, more specifically, since the evolution of statehood. It constitutes a permanent and real category. Anyone who wields power -- no matter at what level -- and believes that he is free from that particular danger only proves his lack of maturity, and it would be better for him and for society if he did not wield it. I have always believed, and I continue to believe, that the press is and must be one of the more important elements of that system. We have been creating such a system of preventive measures over the past 2 years, as General Wojciech Jaruzelski has pointed out more than once -- but this, naturally, does not mean that the measures are already perfect.

Piasecki: The fact that there is an awareness of the problem at such a high level of the decisionmaking hierarchy inspires much hope. Thank you very much for talking to me.

POLITBURO MEMBERS ADDRESS VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES

AU171435 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 13 January on pages 4 and 5 carries three reports that present the speeches of Miroslaw Milewski, PZPR Politburo member (400 words); Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary (400 words); and Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary (1,500 words), delivered at the Torun, Piotrkow, and Leszo Voivodship PZPR accountability-electoral conferences respectively on 12 January.

The report on Miroslaw Milewski's speech notes that as a general of brigade and the chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Law and Order Commission, he is concerend with the "contribution" of the Polish Armed Forces, the militia, and the security services to the fact that "slogans that call out for adventurist confrontation are no longer listened to by society."

He also calls for party members to combat "any form of renewed bureaucracy, arrogance, and therefore, the phenomena of a return to the style of work that caused the workers' protest of August 1980." General Milewski then cites General Jaruzelski's expression about the party being "the same, but not the same," and calls for the "consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist class-based nature of our party and to resolutely eliminate our errors."

The report on Henryk Bednarski's speech is concerned with the party's "continued ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of young people," as well as for the consciousness of the workers. This, he is reported as saying, must be done by motivating all party forces in the following three fields: first, in the "shaping of historical awareness"; second, in the "shaping of citizens' attitudes to correspond with our political and legal teachings, as well as with the socialist state"; and third, in "economic education and understanding the rules and mechanisms that govern our economic affairs." He also says the party must help young people "to prepare themselves to take on the challenge that is facing the country," the "party members cannot take the defensive attitude in this battle for social consciousness," and stresses that "offensive positions require a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and an understanding of the party line."

Almost half of Zbigniew Michalek's speech is concerned with agriculture, as he is the chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Agriculture Commission. However, according to the report, he starts off by admitting that the implementation of the Ninth PZPR Congress program is "often an uphill task." He states that the party "lost almost a third of its members" during martial law and that it "gives no privileges" for the high standards it demands of its members. He describes the economic reform as both a "great task" and "chance." He reasons in support of the planned food price hikes and then turns to agricultural issues. He praises the Leszno Voivodship by saying that "if the majority of voivodships produced as much as Leszno then Poland would be nearer to self-sufficiency in food." He later asks if Poland is now self-sufficient and replies: "Yes, but this depends on the level of our meat consumption," which he says has already dropped, but stresses that "we must first of all have cereals and feed, and only then meat -- there is no other way." He concludes his speech by saying "one no longer needs courage to criticize the government, but it takes some doing to say that your neighbor is a poorworker," although this would promote an improvement.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES LUBLIN VOIVODSHIP MEETING

LD171306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, party Central Committee first secretary and Council of Ministers chairman, is taking part in the 20th accountability-election conference of the Lublin Voivodship PZPR. On behalf of 324 delegates representing the almost 50,000-strong voivodship party organization, the esteemed guest was welcomed by Wieslaw Skrzydlo, Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee first secretary. He also read a report opening the discussion. It will last till the evening.

A telegram with wishes for a fruitful deliberation was sent by the Brest Obkom in Belorrussia which has long-lasting, friendly ties with Lublin.

The motto of the Lublin conference is included in the slogan placed in the hall: The achievements of the 40 years of People's Poland is a work of the whole nation. We can multiply them by joint effort under the leadership of the PZPR.

RCP ENDORSES FARM PLAN, DISARMAMENT MANDATE

AU162022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 16 Jan 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/1/1984 -- On January 16 RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, presided over a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

The Executive Political Committee looked into and endorsed the single national plan for enhancement of farm production of the private farmsteads of the members of producer cooperative farms, and of the farmsteads of individual producers.

The single national plan stipulates most important targets and tasks to stimulate enhancement of the farm -- vegetable and animal -- production of the private farmsteads of the members of producer cooperative farms and of individual farm producers in view of providing the amounts needed for their own consumption and increasing considerably their contribution to materialization of self-supply and of the state stock of farm products.

Within the policy promoted by the RCP in general, the socialist agricultural sector will further play the decisive role in point of agricultural -- vegetable and animal -- production and in providing self-supply and the state stock. At the same time the single national plan establishes firm measures in view of enhancing the vegetable and animal production also in the private farmsteads of agricultural producers, and sets in a single system for contracting and purchasing goods, meant to enhance their contribution to the materialization of self-supply and of the state stock of farmfood produce. Under this single system equally for the farmsteads of the cooperative farmers and for those of the peasants living in noncooperativized zones, firm obligations are set in point of contracting and handing over certain products to the fund for self-supply and to the state stock. At the same time, setting out from the need for a reliable capitalization of the products turned out by these farmsteads, and for stable prices, the obligation is established in a firm and compulsory way for the socialist units in this field to take over the entire amount of products offered by the agricultural producers and pay the established prices and offer the advantages stipulated by law.

The Executive Political Committee has decided that the programme be released and asked the party bodies and organizations, the people's councils, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the agricultural boards at county levels to take all measures in order that all inhabitants of villages may debate, know and appropriate thoroughly the mentioned provisions and firmly implement them.

During its January 16 meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP approved the mandate of the Romanian delegation at the session of the disarmament conference to be held in Geneva between February 7 - April 27, 1984. The Executive Political Committee set that through its entire activity, the Romanian delegation should actively promote the conception and initiatives of Romania, of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the need to pass to specific and efficient measures for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first of all, for the elimination of the peril of a nuclear war, for the complete elimination of the threat and use of force from international relations.

The Executive Political Committee reiterated Romania's resolve to act alongside the other states attending the conference, to ensure its unfolding in a constructive spirit, with as good as possible results to fully meet people's expectations on the passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament above all, on the building of confidence, the consolidation of security and collaboration in the European Continent and throughout the world.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS FARM PRODUCTION GROWTH MEETING

AU171954 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1911 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/1/1984 -- On January 17, chaired by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, a working meeting was held at Sinaia, regarding the activity carried in agriculture and particularly a more marked growth of the vegetal and animal production turned out by the farmsteads of the members of the cooperative producer farms and by those of the individual producers. Participating in the meeting were Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and other members of the RCP and Romanian state leadership, first secretaries and secretaries on agricultural questions of the county party committees, leading cadres of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the National Union of the Cooperation Producer Farms and other ministries and central institutions, experts, cooperative farmers, and peasants with private farmsteads in various zones of the country.

Those taking the floor pointed out the importance of the single national plan for enhancement of the agricultural production turned out by the private farmsteads of the members of cooperative producer farms and by the farmsteads of private producers, approved the previous day by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

Bringing to the fore the decisive role played by the socialist sector in the country's agricultural production and in the implementation of self-supply and of the state stock, the participants in the debate referred extensively to the great support the state is granting for development of the vegetal and animal production in the area covered by farmsteads of the cooperative farmers land of private producers in the noncooperativized zones. They also brought forth the patriotic duty incumbent on the people living in villages to enhance continuously the vegetal and animal production and to sell to the state stock ever greater amounts of agricultural produce, by way of contracts.

Expressing their full adhesion to the important measures in the single national programme, the participants in the debates pointed it out to be a strong mobilizing factor for capitalization of all resources existing in the private farmsteads of the members of cooperative producer farms and in the farmsteads of private agricultural producers. The speakers have reasserted the feelings of love, deep esteem and gratitude the peasantry, all the inhabitants of villages, and the whole people nurture for President Nicolae Ceausescu and, on the occasion of his impending birthday celebration addressed him warmest wishes of good health, power to work, many and fruitful years at the head of the party and Romanian state. At the conclusion of the meeting Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, took the floor.

LUMEA RECOUNTS UNIFICATION OF WALACHIA, MOLDAVIA

AU121416 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1205 GMT 12 Jan 84

["Articles in the Press: 'Political and Diplomatic Struggle for the Achievement of Union of the Romanian Principalities' by Nicolae Copoiu, doctor of history; article printed in LUMEA Weekly No. 3 of January 12" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12-01-1984 -- The two Romanian principalities -- Walachia and Moldavia -- played, in the middle of the 19th century an important role in the complex European context, at a time when the aspirations of many peoples for national unity and independence came true.

The Romanians were the first European people who understood the importance of their national unity and staunchly fought for union, so as to pass from the stage of feudal states into a new phase -- that of the unified modern state...

The question of the unity and independence of the Romanian people -- raised by the 1848 revolution under various forms -- vigorously reappeared in the context of the Romanian realities and of the new international relations, once the Crimean War was finished, during which foreign armies traversed the Romanian land again. The Romanian politicians of that time, with the political experience of the revolution, knew how to take advantage of the rivalry between the great powers and satisfy, at least partially, some of the targets set in 1848, thus baffling the latter's manoeuvres against the Romanians' unity and independence. They were aware that they could not get the great powers to acknowledge the union and full national independence at the same time. Therefore, taking account of the balance of forces and of the international relations of the time, they claimed, first of all, the union of Walachia and Moldavia, a claim sustained (with various reasons and interests) both by France, constantly, and by Russia, in the first phase.

Arguing their historical rights, the Romanians brought out in bold relief the peculiar relations with the Turks, based on the autonomy and suzerainty of the Romanian principalities...

The peace treaty, which put an end to the war begun in 1853 between Russia, on one side, and France, England, Turkey and Sardinia, on the other side, known as the "Crimean War", was signed in Paris, on March 30, 1856...

An important place in the debates and resolutions of the Paris Congress (1856) held the question of the future organization of the Romanian principalities -- Walachia and Moldavia. Six of the 34 articles of the treaty directly concerned the fate of the Romanian people. In the previous period, the Romanians' claims had been widely presented to the European public opinion. Front ranking personalities of the 1848 revolution, who emigrated in various European centres because of the country's occupation by foreign troops, had carried out a steady campaign in favour of the union, addressing memoires to different Western sovereign and dignitaries, printing numerous articles in the press and studies in which they had demonstrated the historical reasons of the Romanian people's aspirations, their right to live in a unitary national state. In that context and due to the contradictions among the seven powers, each with its own interest in the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area, the congress made a rather unusual decision in the practice of the then international relations -- the consultation of the Romanian people on their own wishes.

That apparent good-will and the use of democratic methods of consulting a people on their future were accepted by all powers, including the ones that were against the unity of the Romanians, and hoped that the Romanian people were not able to adopt a nationwide unitary stand.

But both the election of the ad-hoc assemblies -- representative assemblies that were to express the options of the people -- and their proceedings constituted an examen of political wisdom brilliantly passed by the Romanian people. The assemblies unanimously decided (in Walachia) and with two votes against (by agents of foreign powers) in Moldavia, the union of the two principalities.

The Romanian people may be considered the first European people to have used democratic methods for national self-determinations in the modern epoch.

Although there was no doubt in that decision made by the Romanian people, certain powers, that were against the union, disregarded it in fact and, at the Paris international conference (May-August, 1858) the seven negotiated anew the union issue. The signed convention on the definitive organization of the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia reflected the compromise reached by the seven powers during the negotiations...

The convention stipulated the union of Moldavia to Walachia under the name "the United Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia", however mentioning that the public power should be assigned to a ruler and an electoral assembly in each principality, and that a central commission should be founded in order to draft laws valid in both principalities. Stipulated were also the independence of magistrates who could not be dismissed or replaced without certain legal guarantees, and the foundation of a joint Court of Cassation headquartered in Focsani. In that same spirit it was decided that the two armies should have a flag each, wearing a blue ribbon as a sign of unity. The two armies would have only one chief, appointed by turn by the two rulers.

...Such stipulations granted only in part the Romanians' request for union.

Alexandru Ioan Cuza's election as the only ruler in both principalities created a new, unexpected situation in relation to the provisions of the convention signed by the seven warranting powers in 1858. That is why, the new stage of the process of union that unfolded from January 24, 1859 to January 24, 1862, was characterized by the great efforts of the progressive Romanian forces to thwart the schemes of the foreign powers against the union, to induce the acknowledgement by the warranting powers of the twofold election and then to achieve yet another step toward the complete union of the two countries: the unification of the Iasi and Bucharest governments and assemblies. A string of diplomatic actions were taken on a domestic and external plane, which emphasized both the firm will of the Romanian people to back the cause of the union above the limits stipulated in the 1858 convention and the capability of the ruler and his main associates to employ the best suited methods for the attainment of the set target...

Meanwhile, in the principalities prominent representatives of the political quarters, obeying the wish of the masses, were urging the ruler to proclaim the union without waiting for the decisions of the Conference of the Seven. Under the circumstances, the conference held at Istanbul (1861) decided to grant the Romanians' requests, with the confining clauses claimed by Austria. Under the conference's decision, Turkey, as the suzerain power, notified the acknowledgement of the unification of the two governments and of the two electoral assemblies. The Focsani central commission that had started proceedings in May 1859, having the role to unify the measures endorsed separately by the two assemblies, was dismantled. Bucharest became the capital city of the new state.

RCP'S VERDET ADDRESSES AUSTRIAN CP CONGRESS

AU181227 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Jan 84 p 6

[Text] The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe] met in Vienna. On behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on behalf of the Romanian working people, Comrade Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee of RCP Central Committee, extended cordial greetings to the delegates, all communists, and the Austrian workers class, its best wishes for complete success in the congress proceedings.

With feelings of friendship and keen interest, the Romanian Communists and working people in our country are following the activity carried out by the KPOe to defend the interests of the working people, achieve peace, detente, and disarmament, and to strengthen international cooperation.

"I would like to take this opportunity to express our satisfaction with the development of friendship and cooperation between our parties. I take special pleasure in stressing that in the positive development of those relations, a decisive role was played by tne meetings and talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, and Franz Myhri, KPOe chairman. We want to express the conviction that those relations, based on equality of rights, mutual respect, each party's right to independently formulate its political line, and on noninterference in internal affairs, will continue to develop. The relations will develop in the interest of deepening and diversifying cooperation between our parties, and between Romania and Austria, to the benefit of both peoples and for the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world."

The speaker then stressed that at present the Romanian people, under the leadership of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are making sustained efforts in all sectors to resolutely reach the targets set forth by the 12th party congress and the national conference. The targets concern Romania's transition to a new development stage and the achievement of new quality in work and life.

Fully in keeping with its domestic policy, the RCP representative stressed, our party and state are carrying out intensive international activity and are developing broad relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, with the developing and nonaligned countries, and with the other countries of the world, irrespective of their socioeconomic system. These relations are firmly based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and on each people's right to independently choose its socioeconomic development road.

At an international level, our party and Socialist Romania are consistently acting against the policy of force and dictate, against the escalation of the arms race, and for achieving effective measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, for halting the deployment of new missiles, for creating nuclear free zones in Europe, and for ensuring peace and security on our continent and throughout the world. Numerous initiatives and proposals made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, serve those noble goals. The recent declaration of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and of the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania is aimed at achieving those legitimate desires of the present-day world.

We are convinced that resolving the complex problems of the present-day world requires active participation on an equal footing by all states, including small and medium-sized, developed and nonaligned countries, in international activity. Advocating the renunciation of the use or threat of force, our party and state are struggling to resolve conflicts in various parts of the world by peaceful means and negotiations, and to ensure nations' rights to freedom and independence.

Taking into consideration the grave world economic situation and the accentuation of the phenomenon of underdevelopment, we believe it is necessary to give a new impetus to actions aimed at eliminating economic gaps, at ensuring the stable and lasting development of all nations, and at expanding international cooperation. Proceeding from the need to strengthen the unity of political forces at a national and international level and to promote an atmosphere of detente, cooperation, and peace, the RCP will continue to act to develop cooperation and solidarity with all the communist parties, with the socialist, social democratic, and democratic parties, and with progressive forces everywhere.

In conclusion, the RCP representative extended wishes for new successes to the KPOe in attaining the aspirations of the Austrian working people and in its struggle for peace, understanding, and cooperation with all peoples.

PRISTINA DERIDES ALBANIAN MARCH ON UN

AU181011 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Unattributed Pristina radio-television commentary]

[Text] Last night we were informed on Belgrade television's third newscast by its New York correspondent that yesterday about 100 Albanian nationalists and irredentists attempted to capture the attention of American and international opinion by demonstrating in front of the United Nations. The slogans that these enemies and traitors of the people (?used) are known to us from the anti-Yugoslav arsenal of the Albanian irredentists [word indistinct] international subversive kitchens of political [word indistinct] who are closely linked with Albanian emigre extremists and whose main aim is to destabilize independent, sovereign, and nonaligned Yugoslavia and to destroy the constitutional order in our country.

The fact that this time the seat of the UN was chosen for a group of (?troublemakers) in the pay of the dark underground to express their nationalist and chauvinist anti-Yugoslav anger should not surprise us much. This unsuccessful attempt at an irredentist demonstration by participants of various reactionary hues should also be viewed in the context of a number of other recent unsuccessful attempts by Albanian emigre extremists in the West, who, closely tied to some extreme reactionary anticommunist circles in the West and also instigators in Tirana, [words indistinct] support for the latest writhings of the irredentists in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Yesterday's occasion in New York would not have even merited any attention if some U.S. reactionary circles had not had a hand in the matter. These circles, with the blessing of influential American individuals, incite Albanian emigre extremists to take such actions in this country. How else can we explain the calm stand of official U.S. organs when this group of irredentists assaulted an accredited Yugoslav journalist and took from him the film he had taken on the occasion of this savage demonstration by the class enemies of Yugoslavia -- a country with which the United States has friendly relations.

Perhaps they acted in this way to enrich democracy, about which, when it comes to Yugoslavia and its internal (?circumstances), some circles in the West and the United States give us lectures. As far as we are concerned, even without the film that was seized, we know very well who dared to demonstrate in front of the United Nations, shouting anti-Yugoslav slogans, and who has a hand in their destructive aims. We also know that in New York alone more than 20 national committees of royalist Zogists, Ballists, and even Enverites with different instructors exist and are active. The number of these committees and groups should not surprise us much. On the contrary this number testifies to their ineffectiveness and weak influence on the various Albanian immigrants who are loyal to socialist self-managing, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, and who have often demonstrated and asserted their close ties with Tito's Yugoslavia.

The flags with which this group of Albanian irredentists demonstrated in New York, according to the [word indistinct] model are [words indistinct] of the organizers of these demonstrations according to the instructions of their patrons. [Words indistinct] will substitute these flags with others without caring about their symbols or colors.

Putting aside the issue of who pays [the troublemakers] more, the extreme reactionary circles in the West and the United States and other inspirers of these and other demonstrations everywhere in the world -- long hindered by the stability of the SFRY and its authority in the world as a nonaligned country, especially in the United Nations -- are aware of what they are doing with their interventions.

The true friends of Yugoslavia have long known the aims of these circles, especially those of the Albanian irredentists and nationalists. The occasion of the unsuccessful demonstrations by Albanian irredentists and nationalists in New York, totaling hardly 100 people, [word indistinct] of the United States, should be seen as the last writhings of the long arm of irredentism and an attempt to rescue the drowned.

PRISTINA PAPER REACTS TO AWP ORGAN ON KOSOVO

AU182146 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 84

["Article to be published in 19 January Pristina RILINDJA answering recent ZERI I POPULLIT article"]

[Text] The leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is continuing its crude interference in the internal affairs of our country, fabricating falsehoods and half-truths about our reality, which it is perfidiously presenting under the cloak of concern and instructions on how subjects of a neighboring country should act in matters that are solely their concern. Every cultured person knows that in interstate relations such actions are impermissible and cannot bring anything good. ZERI I POPULLIT has once again been charged with transmitting these instructions. It would perhaps be better if [words indistinct] that leadership were really interested in good-neighborliness and peace in the Balkans.

Our country, socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia of equal peoples and nationalities, has never denied Albania's right to show an interest in the Albanians in Yugoslavia, just as Yugoslavia itself shows an interest in our people living outside our state borders, naturally adhering to the international norms and, primarily, to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state. The right to show interest in the Albanians in Yugoslavia is being abused by the Albanian leadership, which is interfering in the internal affairs of our country. This happened once more with the article published some days ago in ZERI I POPULLIT. This latest pamphlet from Tirana seeks to belittle our achievemnts in the implementation of the political platform and the action of the LCY for the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, and coexistence in Kosovo -- the political platform contained in a document approved by the 12th LCY Congress, which pertains not merely to Kosovo and the Albanians. ZERI I POPULLIT once again denies any result achieved by the progressive forces in Kosovo and in all of Yugoslavia, primarily by the Albanian communists and workers, toward stabilizing the political and economic as well as the security situation in Kosovo. These assessments coincide with the ill-wishing assessments of reactionary remnants of all hues in our country.

How is it possible to interpret in any other way the statements that the situation in Kosovo has remained unchanged, that it has even deteriorated, which ZERI I POPULLIT made, not without malice, at a time when life in general in Kosovo has been normalized and does not differ from life in other parts of Yugoslavia, while production is showing positive trends. Teaching in the schools and university is going on normally without even the smallest excesses. Intranational relations and mutual confidence are being strengthened throughout the province. All this has been achieved through the uninterrupted political activity of the progressive forces in Kosovo and throughout the country. And if Tirana considers the just punishment of the increasingly rare irredentist groups to be the exercise of terronism against the Albanian population, it must know that it is taking reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements under its wing, and that no country on earth, not even Albania, remains idle against enemies who wish to destroy its foundations.

The obvious achievements of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are not fortuitous or unexpected, but the result of the efforts of the Kosovars themselves and of the solidarity and fraternal assistance of the community at large in Yugoslavia, who spared nothing for the more rapid development of Kosovo, even in the face of economic difficulties. Let us recall here that during the past year alone, a number of projects were completed in Kosovo, including the Kosovo B power plant, the Ferronickel plant, and the Iber irrigation project, which represent the expenditure of large sums. In addition, we should mention the reconstruction of a number of sectors at the Trepca combine. All this could not have been achieved without the assistance of the community at large which, through federal funds, has given Kosovo assets of over 200 billion dinars, in addition to an additional 12.6 billion dinars, or 72 percent of the province's overall budget, not to mention the annulment of (?annunities) for credits received hitherto.

In addition, the community at large, through complementary financing, made it possible for 428,000 pupils to pursue their studies in elementary and secondary schools -- that is 20,000 more than in the previous year -- while about 13,000 new students were enrolled in the faculties and other higher educational institutions. Also, 170 literary works in the Albanian language were published, not to mention hundreds of textbooks for all levels of education, including publications in the Albanian language in Macedonia and Montenegro, dozens of journals and newspapers, and so forth. These results would have been even greater had it not been for the 1981 hostile demonstrations from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. That is why those counterrevolutionary efforts have also been called primarily anti-Albanian, since all nationalism inciting hatred against other nations and peoples is antinational and harms its own nationality.

The latest LCY Central Committee plenum, so much criticized by ZERI I POPULLIT, manifested precisely the determination of the Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as of all the nations and nationalities, to organize the effort of [words indistinct] for the more rapid development of Kosovo against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. We are convinced of the success of the LCY political platform, because the Kosovars are an important subject of this platform. All nations and nationalities are engaged in this struggle, because we, all of us, have linked our fate to the strength and prosperity of our Socialist Federation as a whole, under the principle of all for one and one for all, united in brotherhood by the blood shed for freedom and by the effort made for a better and more dignified life. We will consider any attempt to separate the Albanians of Yugoslavia from the other nations and nationalities of our country as flagrant interference in our international affairs, as dangerous and reactionary interference.

Regarding Tirana's discovery that Albanian culture has supposedly been under constant attack, we cite the determined stand of Yugoslav Communists, also manifested at the latest LCY Central Committee plenum, that we should work even more for the affirmation of national, historical, and cultural values of the Albanian nationality. It surpasses cynicism to say, when attacking the greatest result of our revolution -- brotherhood and unity, and the equality of nations and nationalities -- as ZERI I POPULLIT has done for the umpteenth time, that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

The question of cultural relations between our two countries is now an old theme. Albania is blaming Yugoslavia for the interruption of cultural relations, but we all know that the truth lies elsewhere. At the 11th LCY Central Committee Plenum, our well-known attitude toward this problem was again reiterated: We need to continue efforts and initiatives for the positive development of Yugoslav-Albanian relations. We also see our interest in the overall cultural and socioeconomic development of neighboring Albania.

But when we talk about the protocol of cultural cooperation, which ZERI I POPULLIT ignores, seeking to make the Albanian leadership blameless for the failure to sign this protocol until now, we have the right to ask: Why has the Yugoslav draft of the protocol been lying in some drawer in Tirana for so many years without any answer at all? Since Albania supposedly has no objections to cooperation with all the republics and provinces of Yugoslavia, why has it not responded to our initiative, as is customary in international relations? We have signed such protocols and are engaged in cultural and scientific cooperation with over 130 countries throughout the world. The road is open. In this important field, too, we desire cooperation on the basis of mutual interest and respect, but without interference and diabolical intentions, which we will never permit.

ZERI I POPULLIT mentioned for the first time the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. But this newspaper, as other enemies, closes its eyes to the fact that pressure has existed and continues to exist even now, here and there in various forms, and limits itself to mentioning only the economic and other circumstances of the emigration, with the intention of misleading its own public opinion by insinuating that the economic and other problems in Albania are nothing compared to those in Kosovo. In this way it seeks to minimize the damage emigration causes to mutual confidence and to the atmosphere in our community. Regarding the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as a result of pressure, our assessments are quite clear, and we need no other assessments, least of all from ZERI I POPULLIT. There is only one truth: The nations and nationalities in Kosovo have been living together for centuries and will continue to do so forever.

We once again remind ZERI I POPULLIT and those behind it that the climate of good-neighborliness between our two countries cannot be created as long as Tirana continues its attacks against the Serbian people, or against any nation and nationality in our country, with the intention of causing divisions among and spreading blind chauvinism against our peoples. It is precisely the sons of the Serbian and Montenegrin people who were the first to raise their voices both before and during World War II against their own bourgeoisie and in favor of the rights of the Albanians, putting their own lives in danger and even sacrificing their lives. The world knows that during the National Liberation War, hundreds of Serbian, Albanian, and other communists shed their blood for socialist Yugoslavia. Therefore, any attempt to create divisions and suspicion is most strongly condemned by all of us.

Interfering in our internal affairs, ZERI I POPULLIT, in addition to its attacks on the Serbian people, also attacked a number of Albanian communists in Yugoslavia, who are in the front line of the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, slandering them. We tell them straightforwardly: Our leaders are legally elected by the people, and, as in every other democratic system in the world, they have the right to speak in the name of the people and to act without asking anyone for permission. They enjoy the support of the broad masses in the struggle for stabilization.

The leaders and officials in Albania, who are implementing Enver Hoxha's blind policy, would do better to look realistically at the future in their own country and should not just look across the fence. This advice of ours is based on our country's principled policy of good-neighborliness and equal cooperation, without interference in internal affairs. As we were taught by Tito, we desire good relations with all our neighbors, and this remains at the foundation of our foreign policy. This also applies to relations with Albania. Therefore, if Albania really desires good relations with our country, socialist, self-managed, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, and with the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and other parts of Yugoslavia, let them prove it by their deeds and concrete steps in this direction, and not with [word indistinct] words.

POLITIKA VIEWS PRAVDA REPORTS ON NEW SPANISH CP

AU181501 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 84 p 1

[Permanent Correspondent D. Pesic report]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan -- The leading Soviet party daily PRAVDA has already been covering the work of the so-called founding congress of the new Communist Party of Spain for 2 days. According to their form, these are reports from the spot, but according to what they stress they could be considered a kind of report from which one can easily sense the reporter's preferences. Also interesting is the title of today's report -- "For the Unity of Communists" -- which sounds confusing because the article describes events which are the very confirmation of disunity.

Without explaining the real situation of the Spanish workers movement and the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], it is reported that the congress was convened by various organizations that stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism....

In the review of the introductory report by Ignacio Gallego, stress is laid on the statements that Eurocommunism is allegedly to blame for everything, for the failure at the elections, for the split among Communists. Also pointed out is Gallego's attitude that the crisis in the party has resulted from the leadership's separation from the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the international communist movement, and so on.

The aforementioned reports state that attending the congress were delegations "of a number of communist and workers parties of socialist countries, West African countries, Latin American countries, as well as national liberation movements." However, the reports fail to say which parties and socialist countries sent delegates. Can this also be understood as unreserved support, which those parties gave to the founding congress in advance? They fail to say whether a CPSU delegation attended the congress.

There is something else unusual in the reports. One cannot at all see what is happening with the other party, that is to say, the first and until yesterday the only Communist Party of Spain, with which the whole world is familiar. Somebody uninformed might think that it does not even exist.

It is also well-known that, not so long ago, a Soviet delegation attended the PCE congress, and reports then were slightly different, more low-key, and contained certain remarks. The aforementioned reports from the congress of the new party contain no remarks, but they do contain many quotations cited in a way one would call approving. We have already said that the aforementioned reports according to their form do not claim to be commentaries, but only reports.

GOODS EXCHANGE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR

LD181802 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, January 18 (TANJUG) -- The value of Yugoslavia-USSR trade is this year to reach six billion dollars, recording an increase of 7 per cent over the last year plan. The above is envisaged under a protocol on goods and services exchanged between the two countries signed in Belgrade, today, Wednesday.

This year, Yugoslavia is to export to the Soviet Union non-ferrous metals and non-ferrous metal products, different machinery and equipment, vessels, agriculture and good industry products, consumer goods and construction services.

Yugoslav imports from the Soviet Union are to include energy and other resources, iron and steel semi-manufactures, aluminum, cotton, cellulose, synthetic rubber, machinery and equipment. Both sides have expressed the conviction that this year, just as last, the Yugoslav-Soviet trade will exceed the plan. The same goes for the five-year economic cooperation plan under which the value of trade is to reach 32 billion dollars.

HUNGARY'S MARJAI ARRIVES IN BELGRADE 17 JAN

LD181411 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Budapest, January 17 [as received] (MTI) -- Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai arrived in Belgrade Tuesday night. At the airport he was welcomed by Borisav Srebric, deputy chairman of the Federal Executive Council, and other representatives of the Yugoslav Government.

Economic Cooperation Talks Open

LD181834 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG) -- Today talks began in Belgrade between a delegation of the Federal Executive Council led by Vice President Borisav Srebric and a delegation of the Hungarian Government with Dr Jozsef Marjai at its head. Reports state that bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries so far was positively assessed. The importance of further promoting economic cooperation in the coming period, especially in the long-term forms of economic activity -- industrial cooperation and specialization -- was stressed. These forms of cooperation not only introduced stability in economic relations but also contribute to neutralizing the difficulties caused by the world economic crisis, to which the two countries' economies are also susceptible. Both sides stressed the desire for overall economic cooperation to expand and advance, which should contribute to the development of overall relations between the two socialist and neighboring countries.

SPILJAK RECEIVES NEW ENVOY TO ANGOLA

LD181211 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade 18 Jan (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Dr Ivo Kustrak, the newly appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Angola, prior to his departure to take up his new appointment.

TV SHOWS ATTENDANCE AT 10 JAN PRESIDIUM SESSION

AU181720 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 11 January carries a 1.5-minute film clip on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in Belgrade on 10 January which was presided over by Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and which discussed questions of the LCY's ideological-political activity and unity in fulfilling its leading ideological-political role in the Yugoslav society. Several panning and single and group closeup shots show that the following attended the session, sitting around the usual circular table: Dragoslav Markovic; Nikola Stojanovic; Danilo Cuic; Miljan Radonjic; Vojo Srzentic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Veljko Milatovic; Miha Marinc; Mitja Ribicic; Milan Kucan; Dusan Dragosavac; Jure Bilic; Ali Sukrija; Petar Matic; Dobrivoje Vidic; Dusan Ckrebic; Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, sitting to the right of Dragoslav Markovic with one empty seat between them; Josip Vrhovec; and several unknown men. Several empty seats were noted on the film clip.